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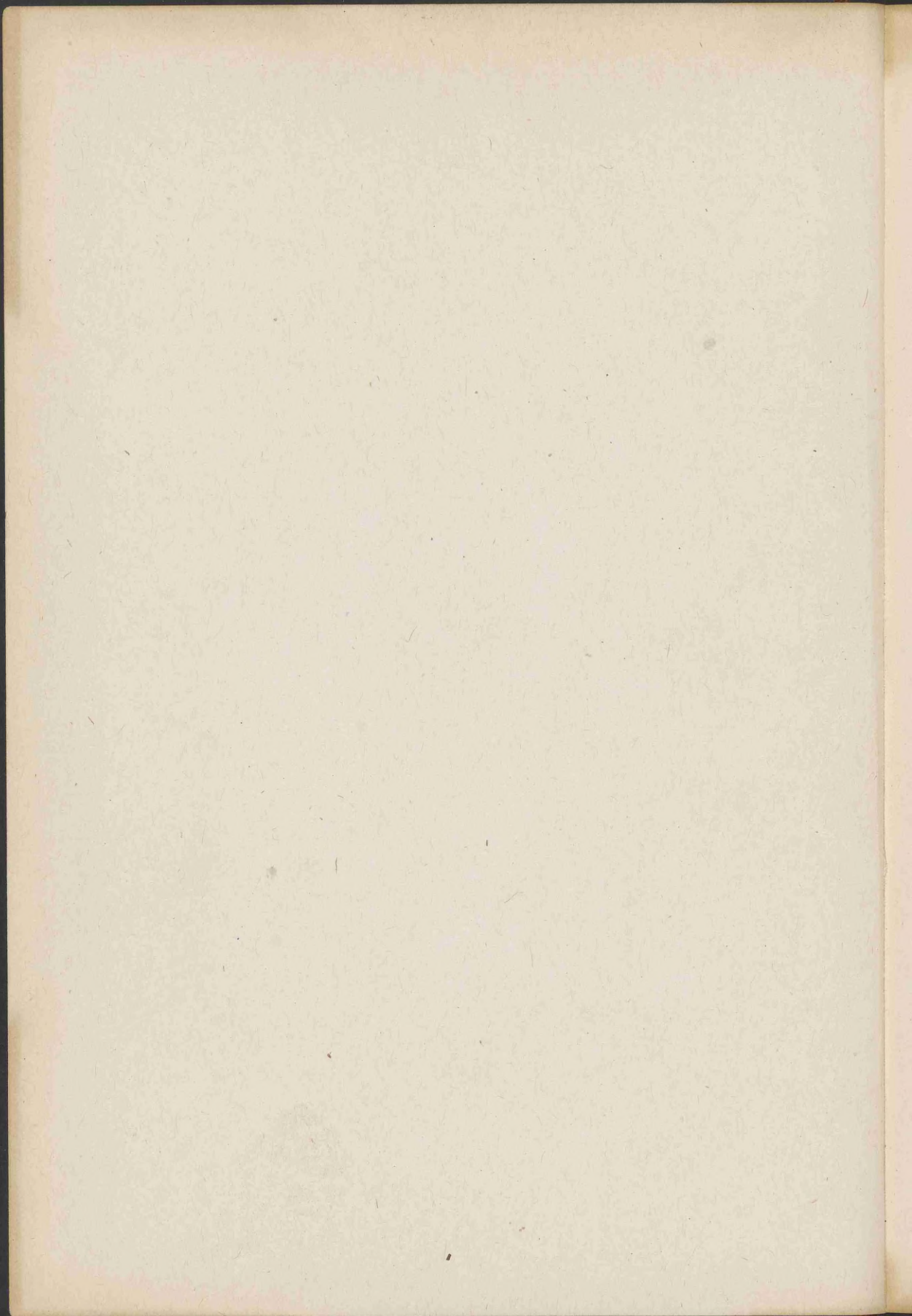
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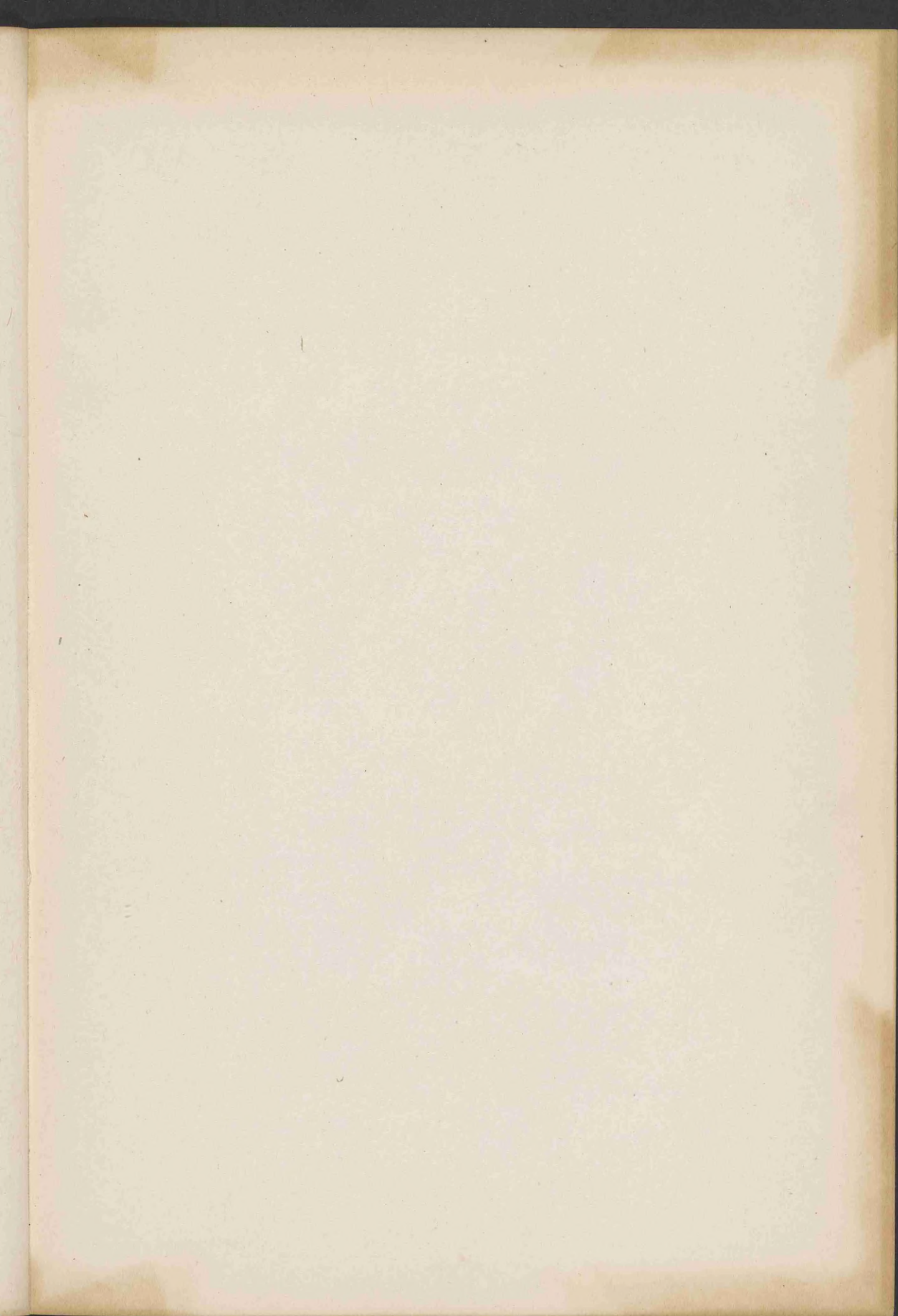
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**INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD
OF TEAMSTERS**

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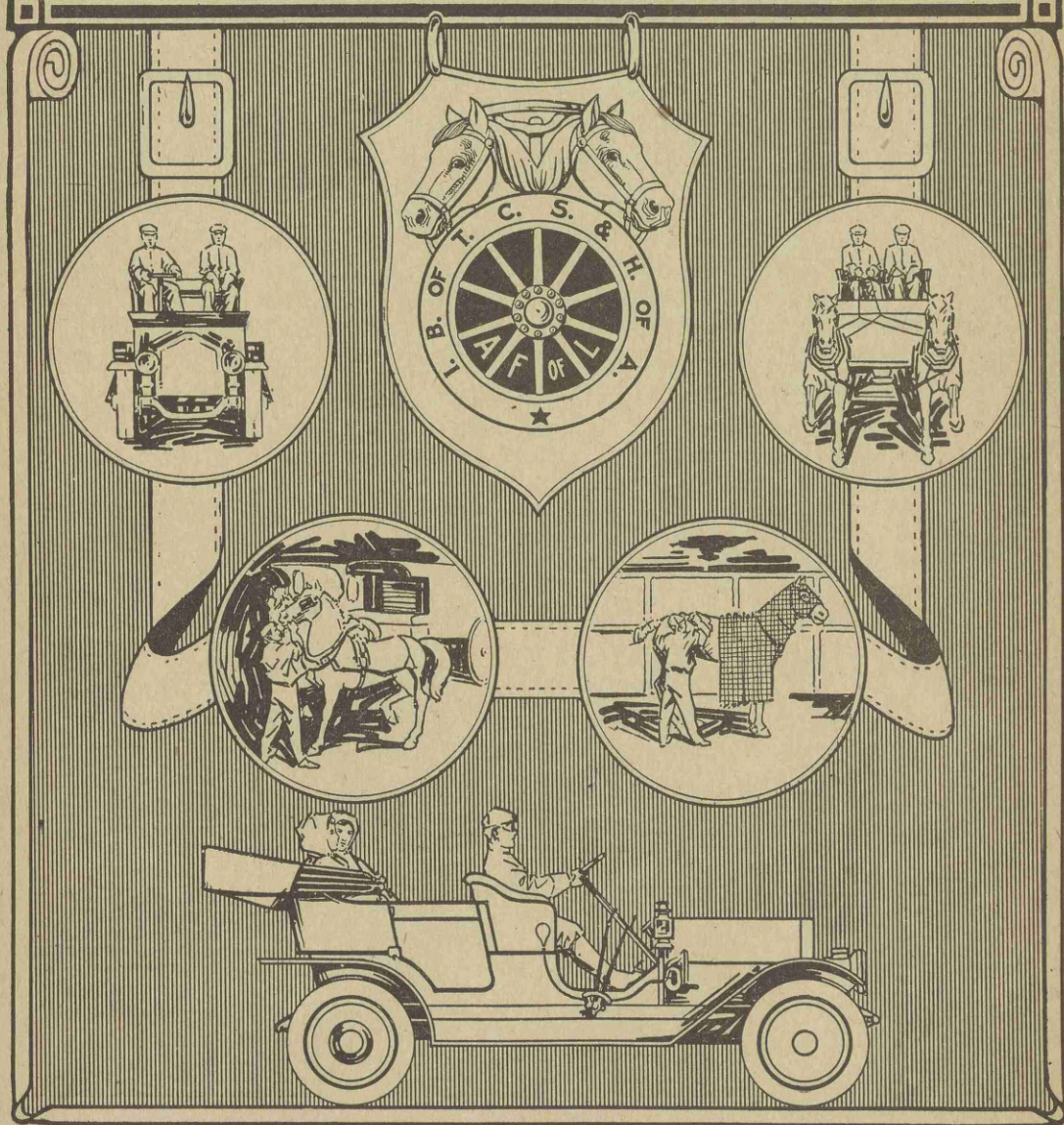
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(Dec 1920 - Nov 1921)

OFFICIAL MAGAZINE OF INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD TEAMSTERS • CHAUFFEURS STABLEMEN AND HELPERS OF AMERICA



John M. Gillespie, who was appointed general organizer for the International Union in October, 1907, and who has occupied that position ever since, was married in New York City on November 9th to Miss Ann Hogan, one of the leading spirits in the Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Office Employees' organization of New York City. It is safe to say that there are no two persons in the labor movement more popular. Every one who is acquainted with either of them prize their friendship and value their acquaintance. Miss Hogan has been employed by the government in the War Savings Department for the past two years. Organizer Gillespie has been taking care of the New England district and the New York situation, and has been used by the General President in every situation surrounding the International where needed. It is only a faint expression of the feelings of hundreds who know this couple to say that we wish them Godspeed and good luck in their new position in life. Both deserve all of the good things with which life is possessed. Mr. and Mrs. Gillespie, in behalf of our readers, the editor wishes you continued happiness, success and prosperity through life.

The Dwight Cotton Mills, Gadsden, Ala., have closed for at least a week; company's warehouses are filled; between 15,000 and 16,000 operatives are idle.

It is reported from Providence, R. I., that the Lonsdale Company's mill will go on a three-day-a-week schedule.

The layoff of 10,000 New Bedford cotton mill operatives over Columbus Day will likely be extended from a week to a month or more. Nearly 7,000 looms and over 750,000 spindles are estimated to be affected by the suspension.

Mills of Assawago Company of Killingly, Conn., and woolen mills in Plainfield, Centre Village and nearby sections of Connecticut resumed operations after having been idle since July. Several other woolen and worsted mills prepare to start.

Upon the reopening of operations on October 25, the manufacturing department of the American Thread Company mills at Willimantic, Conn., will run on a three-day working schedule, with the finishing department running only two days a week. About 2,700 operatives are affected.

The Lawrence, Mass., branch of the Amalgamated Textile Workers has served notice on mill owners in that district that any reduction in wages "will result in action by the Amalgamated Textile Workers without further notice."

Manufacturers of Kenosha, Wis., are laying off hundreds and nearly all plants have cut down to five-day week with overtime eliminated because of "slack" season.

One of the largest builders of dwellings in Philadelphia, Pa., gave notice to carpenters and painters that beginning October 14 the carpenters' wages would be \$1.00 per hour instead of \$1.12½, and painters' wages would be 75 cents per hour instead of \$1.00 per hour.

Reports from 1,570 manufacturers show approximately 100,000 workers have been dropped by New York State factories during the past six months.

— OFFICIAL MAGAZINE — INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF TEAMSTERS CHAUFFEURS STABLEMEN AND HELPERS.



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SPASMOCISM OF SOME EMPLOYERS



HE hysteria of some employers in America on the growth and influence of organized labor is, to say the least, sympathetic, but their attempt

to foster the antiquated scheme of "the open shop" on the American people under the guise of "The American Plan" is the height of sophistry.

One should not be deceived as to what the so-called "American Plan" stands for. It is the retitling of the scheme of the manufacturers of a decade past who set out to crush the movement of organization among the working men and women of this continent under the banner of the "open shop," and the sugar-coating is represented in the following apparently harmless words:

"By use of the term American Plan of employment we mean that all men shall have equal rights to work on any and all projects without regard to affiliation or non-affiliation with organized labor. We consider it the fundamental constitutional right of every employe to sell his services where he may without fear of hindrance."

The inconsistency of the quotation above is presented in the following parallel requoted, which reads: "We mean that all men

shall have equal rights to work on any and all projects without regard to affiliation or nonaffiliation with organized labor." The words "affiliate or non-affiliate with organized labor is hypocrisy of the worst sort for the reason that it obviously proposes non-affiliation with organized labor. That this is true is borne out by the following language: "We consider it the fundamental constitutional right of every employe to sell his services where he may without fear of hindrance." "To sell his services where he may without fear of hindrance" can have but one interpretation, and that is that the employers propose by disorganization of the trade union movement to place the workers in a position where they will be compelled by circumstances to "sell their services" at a rate that will disregard the rights of their fellow workers.

The one new angle to the present hysteria of the employers as presented in a portion of their program reads: "The American Plan recognizes the right of collective bargaining between the employed and the employer for the establishment and maintenance of fair wages and proper working conditions for honest services and satisfactory output."

What does the analysis of this new matter in the program of the employers to save the working men and women of America present? First, that the organizations of labor shall be destroyed and then the principle of collective bargaining shall follow. To whom shall the principle of collective bargaining apply? Since it is the purpose to destroy the trade union movement there can be but one reasonable answer, and that is that "employer organization" and the employers shall deal collectively. Since this is the only apparent means by which collective bargaining can be conducted under the scheme, then

it is reasonable to inquire, who is to determine what "fair wages and proper working conditions" are to be? Likewise it is of additional importance to inquire as to who shall determine whether "honest service and satisfactory output" has been given? Since the plan is to "pull the teeth of the workers," to disarm them of their collective strength and co-ordination which can only come through the international trade union movement, it must follow that the employer is to determine what constitutes "honest service and satisfactory output"; or, in other words, the same species of collective bargaining that applied in the days of the chattel slave shall be reintroduced in this the twentieth century period of civilization under the guise of "The American Plan."

The open shop program of the days of Van Cleave, Post and Kirby, rejuvenated by the Chamber of Commerce of the United States under the alluring title, "The American Plan," is revolutionary and absolutely the most vicious scheme for the undermining of stable governments that has ever been conceived.

Governments are not things separate and distinct from peoples. Governments are peoples, and the stability, prosperity, intellectuality and Christianity of the governments are calculated by the standards of the people.

Organized labor is not revolutionary. It is evolutionary. It is an institution that moves forward and not backward. It is an institution representative of the great overwhelming mass of the peoples of all nations of the world whether all peoples may be affiliated with it or not. It is an institution nevertheless representing the workers, the producers, who constitute the great bulk of humankind.

One does not have to be a his-

torian to portray or to recite from what source the humanitarian and constructive thought of the world has emanated. Certainly it cannot be said that it has come from the dormant or satisfied minds, but rather it has come from the active, energetic protestants who had a grievance and who, notwithstanding the abridgements that have been made to prevent their speaking and writing, they nevertheless have been heard.

Now comes the latest hysteria fostered by the Chamber of Commerce of the country that proposes "normalcy." Such a purpose and such a term is best translated into the word "reaction" or "deterioration," and while it may be true that this spasmodic effort may avail many of those who are engaged in its precipitancy, yet it is reasonable to expect, if we are to be guided by the experience of the past, that it will despair and fail of its own momentum for the very simple and yet forceful reason that it is in contravention of the very nature of human aspirations.

The fact is that certain members of the Chamber of Commerce, large and influential employers who have heretofore profited by confusions, are desirous of "repeating," and while they realize that it is but a makeshift scheme, they are in hopes nevertheless of securing sufficient results from the campaign to compensate them and to check momentarily the growth of the movement of organized labor, whose only reason for existence, it should be said, is to promote the happiness and well-being of those who toil.

Lenine and Trotsky, through their Bolshevik party, are endeavoring to sovietize Russia; they have confiscated property; they have decreed that free men shall not own their homes; they are revolutionists and the world has generally agreed that they are radicals

of the most advanced type. Moreover, the most inexperienced student of economics and of human psychology will agree to the utter impracticability of the Bolshevik philosophy. The American trade union movement is opposed to this political and industrial impossibilism. It stands for evolutionary tendencies predicated upon understanding.

Let us draw the parallel between the Bolsheviks and the Chamber of Commerce, or those members of it who have rejuvenated the failure of the past, as is true in the case of Lenine and Trotsky. The Chamber of Commerce, or at least those responsible for the so-called "American Plan" (open shop) scheme, are endeavoring to monopolize the material things of America in the interest of a few and to the disadvantage of the many. The program contemplates the confiscation of property because their theory of collective bargaining disarms and makes helpless the workers in conserving wage standards necessary in the maintenance of homes, and by the same rule they have decreed that free men, the workers, shall not own their homes because they would make it impossible through their bureaucratic control.

The American trade union movement is opposed to this political and industrial impossibilism advocated by certain elements of the Chamber of Commerce because it is revolutionary, vicious and selfish. The international trade union movement will therefore resist with the same energies the so-called open shop movement as they will the efforts of Lenine and Trotsky to sovietize the world, both being reactionary and destined to the same end while parading under somewhat different cloaks and titles.

The American Federation of Labor and the Canadian Trades and

Labor Congress will meet the present spasmodic movement of the Chamber of Commerce as it has always met such reactionary issues.—Major George L. Berry, Printing Pressmen's Union.

GOOD INVESTMENTS

The following resolution was adopted by our convention:

Whereas, The object of the Savings Division of the United States Treasury Department is to forward the saving practices that were adopted during the war when the people of the country generally became familiar with government securities, and

Whereas, The purpose of government savings associations is to enable every individual to build up for himself a savings fund which will support him in time of need and to encourage investment in the sound securities of the government that are backed by the resources of the nation; therefore be it

Resolved, That the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America, in convention assembled, Cleveland, Ohio, October, 1920, endorse the savings movement of the treasury department and recommend to all our affiliated unions that they co-operate in every possible way to make it a success and urge their membership to join government savings associations and help form them, so that the weekly saving of the 25-cent thrift stamp—obtainable at all postoffices and various authorized agencies—may be established as a regular practice, and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be sent to Hon. David F. Houston, Secretary of the Treasury; to William Mather Lewis, Director, Government Savings, Washington, D. C.; that a copy be published in our official monthly magazine for all members to read

and carry out to the best of their ability.

—BUY W. S. S.—

MINIMUM PRODUCTION CAN'T BE WAGE BASE

New York.—A minimum wage is based on the needs of a worker to live, and this has no relation to minimum production.

The above summarizes a rejection by the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union of the offer of children's dress manufacturers that they will guarantee a minimum wage if the union guarantees a minimum production.

These workers refused to fall into the trap and exposed a sophistry that is being urged at the present time.

"We cannot and will not guarantee a minimum production because such a guarantee would defeat the whole object of establishing the minimum wage," the unionists replied.

"A minimum wage is established for the purpose of enabling the slowest normal worker to make a living on the basis of his most essential prevailing requirements.

"Of course, if the worker is so slow and inefficient as to fall below normal, the employer would not be forced to engage or retain him. But when an alleged minimum wage is coupled with a condition for a specified minimum of production, it of course follows that if production falls below the established minimum, a corresponding reduction will be made from the wage rate, which thereby ceases to be a minimum wage.

"In fact, an arrangement of this kind will change the entire system of work into one of task work."—News Letter.

Some persons seem to be thoroughly miseducated; they know too much that isn't so.

EDITORIAL

(By Daniel J. Tobin)

THE election is all over, so let us all get together and bury any feelings that may have broken out during the discussions of the political candidates, because, after all, bear this in mind, that no matter what party is in power, this splendid country of ours is bound to go along long after we have all passed away. The same political arguments will confront the generations that follow us. In view of the fact that this Journal did not discuss the political situation but very slightly during the campaign, perhaps it would not be amiss at this time to say a word or two as to the results. Great surprise seems to prevail at the overwhelming victory of the Republican party over the Democratic party. Those who knew anything of the situation were confident many weeks ago that there was not very much chance for the Democrats to win. Quite a few weeks ago, while in New York City, I learned that the Democrats had given up all hopes of being able to elect Cox, and had decided to center all of their power and influence and work to save Al Smith, the Governor. This, however, they did not accomplish, and it is too bad, because, in so far as Labor is concerned, there was never any Governor in New York equal to Al Smith. He was the best friend that Labor ever had, but he has gone down in defeat. If we stop for a moment to analyze the political situation we will not be so much surprised at the result of the election. First of all, the country is normally Republican—has been Republican for over thirty years, with the exception of the fact that Cleveland slipped in in 1884 as a result of a gigantic blunder made by the Blaine campaign committee. Again in 1892 Cleveland was elected because many of the corporations felt that he was just as safe in the White House for the corporations as if they elected Benjamin Harrison, who was then seeking a second term as President. The truth of the matter is that Cleveland was a first-class corporation Democrat, and while Governor of New York or President of the United States never did anything that we know of in favor of the trade unions of the country. The advanced legal fraternity, those who undoubtedly represent corporations and trusts, try to tell us today that Cleveland was one of the greatest Presidents we ever had, but, in my judgment, this is not borne out by his actions toward Labor, and he went out of office in 1896 with a thoroughly demoralized Democratic party, and at the convention in Chicago at which Bryan was nominated he could not have obtained a corporal's guard to follow him. All the years intervening between Cleveland's election in 1892 until 1912 were Republican years by overwhelming majorities. As you remember, in 1912 it would have been absolutely impossible for a Democrat to be elected were it not for the fact that Roosevelt and his friends nearly broke up, or destroyed, or split the Republican party in halves, with the result that President Wilson was elected. Any one who understands the situation knows that President Wilson was elected to office by the disruption or splitting up of the Republican party by Roosevelt and the establishment of his so-called Bull Moose or Progressive party, and he becoming a candidate for the presidency. Roosevelt and his friends were responsible for Woodrow Wilson being elected President of the United States in 1912. In 1916 there was no question

about the election of Judge Hughes of New York, because every one of the big states, such as New York, Illinois, Pennsylvania, Ohio and Indiana, all voted for him by large majorities, but it was the fact that the Republican committee fought and disagreed amongst themselves, with three or four factions inside the national committee, with the leaders on the outside refusing to obey the orders of the managing or campaign committee, neglecting to pay any attention to the home leaders, that was the cause of the accidental defeat of Judge Hughes and the election of Woodrow Wilson by a hair. California, which is almost as strong for the Republicans as is Massachusetts, decided the election, and we understand that it was because Judge Hughes, not being properly trained by his campaign managers, lined up with Harrison Gray Otis and his friends and thereby neglected or ignored Governor Hiram Johnson, thereby losing California and giving four years of administration of the country to the Democrats. But coming back to where we started, this country is overwhelmingly Republican unless something happens. The reason for the enormous majority obtained in the recent election is due to the fact that the women voted and that they usually vote the same as the men. For instance, in 1904 Roosevelt carried Indiana by 100,000 majority. In this election, because of the women voting, the vote has been more than doubled, and by reason of the increase in votes this year Harding carried Indiana by 180,000. So, after all, you can understand that the surprising situation that is supposed to confront us, when you get down to the bottom of things, is not so surprising at all. Now then let us see what the result in the future will be. My prediction is that there is no chance for the Democratic party, or any other party, to take the national administration from the Republicans for the next twenty years, unless there is another split in the Republican party, and it seems to me that there is liable to be a split. There are too many factions within the Republican party; too many men with conflicting ideas as leaders, to have them work in harmony. Penrose, Lodge and all that type despise the men who followed Roosevelt and split up their party; they hate them as much as they hate the Democrats. They only harmonized with them for the purpose of getting back into control. Harding is a weak man. That is, he has not the aggressiveness of Roosevelt. He may have brains, but he is not of the type that will fight for his opinions. He will be like putty in the hands of the ring that forced his nomination at the convention in Chicago, and who were for two years collecting the money for his campaign, and who will say to him, "We elected you." He will be a very submissive individual to the masters and the ring that nominated him. Harding will not give much quarter to Johnson, La Follette, Borah or that crowd. Johnson is sore because he feels that he was cheated at the Chicago convention. Wood is sore, but they can heal up his wounds by giving him a position in the Cabinet. He is in the hands of the corporations that were helping to nominate him, but they cannot quiet Johnson by giving him a job. The Penrose-Lodge gang will stand for a League of Nations of some kind, and they will set aside the pleas of Johnson and others when they say that Harding said so and so on the stump. Harding will say that might have been his belief at the time, but that he has had reason to change his opinion in the interest of the country, and is going to leave it in the hands of the Senate. This will be the position of the new President. This will bring about a split. This will immediately bring about a fight on the outside. The Penrose crowd will say, we might as well get rid of this disturbing element, that is, the

Johnson element, now as at any time later, and Johnson and his friends will be bound to fight. If they lose on the League of Nations question it is the intention of Johnson and his friends to endeavor to enact legislation making it possible to nominate a candidate from each party by popular vote instead of having delegates elected to a convention and then have the ring in the convention nominate the candidate. They will undoubtedly fail in their attempt to enact this kind of legislation. The old ring in either party does not want the popular vote. As a result of being defeated on the League of Nations question and in his attempt to nominate by popular vote, Johnson and his friends are then liable to become as bitter enemies of the Republican ringleaders as are the Democrats, so that it is possible that after four years we may see another split in the Republican party.

Let us see what effect the election will have on the Labor Movement. Personally I think that organized labor is not going to get any consideration whatever. A movement has been going on for the last two years—since the Republicans got control of Congress—to legislate against Labor. This movement has been growing in power and influence ever since its inception. Every large corporation in this country helped the Republicans win. They believe that the Republican party will best serve their interests. The great bulk of trade unionists undoubtedly voted the Democratic ticket, with the exception, perhaps, of California, and in that State the trade unionists, believing implicitly in Senator Johnson, followed his advice and voted more for Johnson than they did for the Republican party. After all, it may be a good thing for Labor—to bring them to their senses. To attempt to enact adverse legislation will do more to bring the masses of the trade unionists and their friends together than if they were having everything their own way. As soon as a real fight is started against Labor it will help to organize, but of course it is not so very encouraging, because of the fact that we are running into a period of depression, for not only are the workers being thrown out of work, but there does not seem to be much relief in the general high cost of living. In every large city there are right now thousands of men out of work. It is stated that there are nearly 100,000 men out of work in the city of Detroit. Conditions are so bad that the authorities are talking about doing something to relieve the situation. All throughout the New England States and New York there are thousands and thousands of workers out of employment, and add to this the multitude, the horde, of immigrants coming from Europe—averaging over 1,200,000 a year—unskilled, uneducated and untrained as to our American ideals, willing to work at anything so long as they escape from the hotbed of trouble and dissatisfaction existing in the countries from which they come. Taking this into consideration, with the conditions in America today—which are liable to grow worse—to say the least, it is a gloomy outlook. The manufacturers say, give us more and more immigrants and we will break the backbone of the American workman when there will be thousands to apply for each position. We will soon bring down wages, for when men are out of work for two or three months they will be willing to work for anything they can get. I do not want to magnify the situation and am only trying to explain it just as it is. We are running into a period where it will take the brains, the common sense and sober thinking of every man in the unions to hold the unions where they are and to preserve the organizations of labor in our country. There has just been elected an administration that is going to be unfriendly to us. We are running into a period of unemployment and general depression in busi-

ness, and we are running into a situation whereby in ten years we will have thrown on our shores, seeking employment, 12,000,000 immigrants, who will be willing to work at any price they can get for their labor.

The employers should take heed before it becomes too late. "Don't bite off your nose to spite your face," is an old saying. Every ignorant, cheap immigrant coming to our country is dangerous. He very quickly learns to despise the men of capital and to hate our institutions, and the result is he is poor material for our country, and the large employer is the one enemy he is desirous of exterminating. You cannot Americanize this class. The worst element in our large cities, the gang men, are the non-English-speaking foreigners that have come to our shores in recent years. All or nearly all of them extremists, they do not want the trade union—no, it is too slow for them. They want revolution, immediate action. So, employers, beware!

THE newspapers of the country have sarcastically been asking the question, Where was the Labor vote? Apparently their object is to throw out the impression that Labor did not support Cox, but the truth of the matter is he did not get any other votes except Labor votes. By that we mean the trade union vote. The unorganized, unintelligent workingman's vote was cast as directed by the employer. Everyone must agree that the masses of the people of this country are laborers, or individuals who work for a salary. It can be stated truthfully that over three-fourths of the working people of this country work for a salary less than \$4,000 a year. Now the great mass of the people are laborers. Of course, this class could sway any election if organized into a solid mass, but the only Labor vote referred to apparently by the anti-Labor newspapers is the trade union vote, and the trade unionists pretty thoroughly supported Cox, with the exception of California, as stated on another page.

There were many reasons for the overthrow of the Democratic party. Amongst the many are the following:

The great head of the party, the center-magnet of the group, was stricken and has been ill for the past year, unable to give that assistance which he gave in campaigns of previous elections.

The country is normally Republican. The people desire a change in administration after every war. Clemenceau was defeated in France almost immediately after the signing of the peace treaty. Lloyd George is only holding on in England by the shrewdest and perhaps the trickiest kind of maneuvering, turning down his friends of yesterday, if they have weakened, and picking up his enemies who may bring him some strength, but he is far more unpopular now than he was during the war. All of the war heroes or leaders in all of the countries that were engaged in that conflict have either been removed or are very unpopular and on the verge of removal. You do not any longer hear the country going wild over Foch or Pershing. Those days have passed, and so the unpopular feeling against the Democratic party. Again, the great corporations of the country believed in a change for trade purposes, and they wanted assurances for the future. Somehow or other they had more confidence in the Republican party than they had in the Democratic party. Again, Wilson's Cabinet was very weak. There were very few members in his Cabinet able to go out and bring in very many votes. Some of the members of his Cabinet, such as Burleson, were a detriment to the party. The postoffice employes—thousands of them—voted against the Democrats

because of Burleson. Attorney-General Palmer, with his blundering in the coal strike, and with his injunction proceedings against the miners, did not help to make the miners love the Democratic party, although their International Secretary-Treasurer was out on the stump amongst the miners for Cox. Secretary of Labor Wilson, a splendid type of man, has somewhat lost his personal touch with the trade unionists of the country. Bryan, the greatest ingrate of all the leaders—the man who should be doing all he could to help the Democrats—forgot that he was three times nominated and supported by that party, and because of some personal grievance, refused to help, although we want to say in passing that he would not have been of much help, because he has lost his hold on the people of the country in recent years, and only by a narrow margin was he elected a delegate to the national convention. Lansing and Lane, who were both trimming the President on the inside, as near as we can find out, did all the knocking they could secretly, and so on down the line. The ship was without a rudder, with a lot of disgruntled individuals on the inside and very few big men holding positions who were able to go out and appeal to the people. In addition to this, the Democrats had no money, while the Republican party had been building up a fund and a machine for the past four years, and, believe me, it is necessary to have a machine today if you ever expect to get anywhere.

If the Republican party would play a wise game they would not try to embitter or seriously antagonize Labor. The wise policy for them to pursue would be to make friends with the labor organizations of the country, because it is just as easy to organize the masses against them as it was to have the masses stampede for them, as they did in the last election. The more they antagonize Labor the stronger they will make Labor. If they play the game shrewdly and not be blinded by their victory and their prejudices, not be controlled by manufacturers' organizations, they will listen to Labor's pleading and grant it a square deal.

A GREAT many of the foremost thinkers of our country are seriously discussing the question of aiding the Government towards the enactment of legislation establishing compulsory medical examination. This discussion is only in its infancy and it may take years to materialize into anything like concrete form, but it is coming, and it will be an advancement in civilization. Just as one or two other great reforms have taken place within our nation, just so sure will this movement come to a head. Some, when they read this, will say: "Well, what is the matter? The human family is getting along all right, so why interfere with present conditions?" But is that so? As a matter of fact the medical examiners who examined our soldiers at the time of the war were amazed beyond expression at the conditions they found in what should have been the healthiest part of our population—the young men between the ages of 20 and 30. A large percentage of our population, through ignorance, are suffering from diseases that are curable. There is also a large percentage of our people afflicted with disease of some kind on which they are thoroughly uninformed. The youth of our nation—the coming generation—must be protected. It is impossible to describe the amount of good that has been done in states where the local government has insisted that the eyes and teeth of the school children be examined. Suppose this examination was to go further than the children? Can you imagine the amount of good that would be done were the adults, the grown-ups, without any expense to them, compelled by the national

government to have their teeth and eyes looked after? Perhaps only within the medical fraternity is it understood the ravage that results from bad teeth, poor eyesight and diseased tonsils, and those are only three small parts of the machinery which compose the human system. All of the internal organs need examining. If a person is examined for high blood pressure or diseased kidneys, or any of the other things with which the human system is liable to be afflicted, and that individual is found perfect, it surely must be a pleasure, but if found suffering from any of those ailments, then the time to cure it is at the beginning, or before it gets a strong hold. There are hundreds of thousands of human beings who die each year in our country from diseases that have been creeping upon them for a number of years and they did not know that they were afflicted with any special disease. If they had had a medical examination and had located the trouble when it first began, they undoubtedly would have lived for many years. As a person gets along in middle life he is slipping backward. The best he can do is to hold himself where he was at the age of thirty-eight, for there is not much chance of building up new tissues after that age. The body is fully developed at the age of twenty-eight and remains in that condition of full development for ten years, unless abused. After that it requires care to hold on in that perfect physical condition. The brain can be developed up to the age of seventy, but not any other part of the human system. Therefore, we must realize that it requires eternal watching to preserve that health and strength with which we have been possessed, but which, perhaps, we have abused. The human system is just like anything else. You can not keep abusing a machine and expect it to remain perfect. If you have a large field of timber and you keep cutting that timber each year and do nothing towards preserving it or replanting it, eventually you will have it all cut down. Human strength and health must be conserved if we expect it to remain with us in later years. Nearly every human being in our advanced American industrial life abuses his health and strength. Our improved machinery, our speed-up systems, our eternal racking of brain, muscle and sinew, our increased number of amusements over what they were twenty years ago, all of the changes in our fast American life, help sap up, instead of preserving, the health and strength with which we were possessed at the age of twenty-five. Men of sound thinking, whose minds do not run to shackles of gold, are realizing, from the knowledge they have obtained from life, the advisability of encouraging national compulsory medical examination. The best experts would be procured, the national government would pay for their services, the examination would be strictly confidential, women medical specialists would examine the women and men experts examine the men, and where disease was found free medicine and free treatment would be given. In this way undoubtedly many lives would be saved or preserved for many years, and every human life has a certain valuation—is worth so much to civilization.

You may say this would be an enormous expense, but it would be nothing compared to the expense incurred by the war. A financial expert stated in one of the daily papers the other day that the war cost the United States Government one million dollars an hour for every hour it was engaged in the European conflict. Just imagine! One million dollars per hour for the destruction of human life. Suppose we spend one hundred thousand dollars per day for the preservation of those human lives that could be prolonged and saved by proper medical exam-

ination? But, to finish, it may be twenty years before we have compulsory medical examination. In the meantime let me advise you to go once a year to some doctor and have a general examination. You ought to get that examination for less than \$5, and no matter how you get the money, get it. If you are well, it will be money well spent. If you are suffering from any ailment, follow the doctor's advice and you may be saved before it is too late.

PRICES are coming down. Things that we wear are much lower than they were one year ago, but they are not yet low enough. Keep on refusing to buy unless it is absolutely necessary. Keep on refusing to be robbed by the large clothing houses and other large concerns throughout the country who have been robbing us since the beginning of the war. If you stand firmly on this point of refusing to spend your dollars unless you are compelled to, you will very quickly bring down prices. Rents are still very high, but next year will see somewhat of a reduction in rent, as soon as the building industry gets back into its stride again. Hundreds of thousands of houses need to be built, and they must be built within the next two or three years. A great abuse existing amongst the American people is that of spending every dollar they can get hold of before the Christmas holidays for Christmas presents. This custom dates back to our early childhood, and, after all, the human race despises to give up a long-established custom, and is, perhaps, responsible for what is becoming a serious menace to the American people. Originally it was customary only for the rich to make Christmas presents or to give Christmas gifts to the poor. It was in the beginning of the last century that the middle-class people began giving presents or gifts of foodstuffs to their servants or menials. In European countries today Christmas giving is unknown amongst the working classes, except small tokens that are given by the well-to-do to their children. The spirit of giving comes from the heart and should be commended in so far as the children are concerned, because, after all, setting aside for the time being the fact that Christmas is a day of great rejoicing, it is, however, a day on which children usually rejoice more than on any other day in the year on account of the birth of the Child Savior. The giving of gifts or presents was confined originally to children except in cases of extreme poverty, where help or assistance was very much needed, but it has grown to such proportions that today there are millions in our country, grown-ups, not relations, mere acquaintances, who feel that it is their duty to buy presents each year and exchange them with others, and after Christmas they sit down and compare the presents they have received and wonder whether or not they are as valuable as those they gave. It sometimes leads to bitterness. Another phase of the situation is this: that the expense of purchasing gifts or presents is much greater than it was a few years ago. Another phase is that at least 50 per cent. of the presents bought and exchanged are useless. I am reminded of an individual who has received two neckties each year for the past ten years from a member of his family, and he still has the twenty neckties which he has never worn. Another member of that family has ten pairs of sleeve garters. Hundreds of cases of this kind prevail. Just imagine the amount of money that is made by the shopkeepers by the purchase of useless gifts. Then again, a child having too many toys, loses his proper appreciation for each toy. Getting down to practical facts, making purchases at enormous prices mounts up until it becomes a serious matter, and sometimes the average workingman's family runs into debt as a re-

sult of the abuse. You will notice big advertisements carried in the newspapers asking the people to relieve the shop girls by making their purchases early. Just imagine those girls working long hours, doing five times the amount of work that they usually do, and they get nothing extra for it. The department stores of this country reap a harvest during the Christmas holidays, and there is no branch of industry in our country as thoroughly non-union, as labor-hating, or, to be plain, greater scab institutions, than the large department stores of the nation, and they just rake in hundreds of thousands of dollars from the workingmen of the nation during the holidays. They make at least 150 per cent. profit on every article sold before the holidays, and after Christmas the "left-overs" may be purchased for a great deal less. Now then, just grind your teeth and make a resolution that you are going to eliminate buying Christmas presents, at least, for anyone who is not a very dear member of your family, and then only for the children—for the others you can buy after Christmas. There should be formed in this country ladies' auxiliaries who would pledge themselves to eliminate this abuse, not because the writer believes that the splendid spirit of giving should be crushed, but because the working masses of the nation are being robbed by the large department stores of the country, and because the abuse has grown to such proportions that it is becoming a disease that must be rooted out. Over one hundred million dollars was spent last Christmas in the purchase of Christmas gifts, and it is safe to say that 70 per cent. of this amount could have been saved. If you want to make a Christmas present look around in your neighborhood and see if there is not some poor, starving family which needs a bag of coal or a basket of food, and without ostentation see that they are given something they need without anyone knowing it except yourself. Make proper investigation, of course, and if the family is suffering because of no fault of their own, then give them a little help, but do not abuse even this privilege or custom or duty. Above and beyond all, we ask you to save your money. Every man and woman needs every dollar he can save, because one never knows when he may be stricken and need the dollars that are wasted. Again remember, the department stores of the country are labor-haters, with no unions existing amongst the great bulk of their employees. They sell non-union-made goods with non-union help, and they retire to their winter palaces during the holidays, rejoicing that they have robbed the working masses of the nation of millions of dollars.

WE ARE undoubtedly mailing the Journal to hundreds of men who are not entitled to it, due to the fact that secretary-treasurers fail to notify us when a man is suspended, expelled, withdraws or for some other reason leaves the organization. Negligent secretary-treasurers in this way cause the International financial loss amounting to hundreds of dollars each month. It is just as important that you notify us when a member leaves your organization, is suspended, expelled or dies as it is that you notify us to send the Journal to an individual. I have just received a notice from a woman whose husband was a member of one of our very important local unions in Illinois, stating that her husband died four years ago, but the Journal continued to go to this individual because we had never been notified to take his name off our mailing list.

May I again earnestly request that local unions pay strict attention

to this matter and send in as soon as possible a list of the names of the men who have been stricken from their membership? For small local unions this would not be very much work. In large local unions it would mean that a pad of paper should be kept on the desk, and each time a man withdraws, is expelled or dies, or becomes six months in arrears, with no hope of his paying up, the clerk in the office should write down his name. I feel now that if the local union had to pay 25 cents per month for the Journal there would not be so many deadheads receiving the Journal. We desire that each member in good standing receive the Journal, but it is an absolute injustice and robbing the International to have the Journal go to the homes of any persons who are not members in good standing. Remember, the Journal costs about six times more than it did six years ago. Local union secretaries, will you please try to help us in this matter?

STATEMENT BY SAMUEL COM- PERS ON THE ELECTION

The non-partisan political policy of the American Federation of Labor is more completely justified than ever and the futility of separate party action more convincingly demonstrated.

Every man in the house whose record of service was perfect has been re-elected.

Incomplete checking already shows that fifty congressmen who were inconsiderate and hostile have been defeated.

This is one of the most impressive features of the entire election. Fifty time-servers have been beaten.

Against these fifty who were defeated the working people have elected from fifty-five to sixty men whose records show fair and considerate service.

This represents a clear gain for integrity in government.

The new Congress also will show an increased number of men who hold union cards. Incomplete checking up of the results so far shows fifteen elected to the new Congress with the probability that final counting will show more than twenty, possibly twenty-five.

It is not to be said that the election was satisfactory in every respect. Every forward-looking man and woman must feel some deep regret because of the great plunge toward reaction. But democracy

will right itself at the proper time and meanwhile the actual tabulation of results in Congress, the law-making body, shows a definite and specified gain for all that makes for progress and a response to the needs of our time.

The non-partisan campaign of the American Federation of Labor was primarily and most effectively a campaign in congressional districts. Its results were gained in the primaries and in the election. These results will serve as a constant reminder to all servants of special privilege and the ever-present and always impressive fact will be before the new Congress that fifty of the unfaithful and the hostile were defeated by the organized workers of our republic.

A notable American has said, "I would rather be right than be President." To be engaged in a righteous cause, to fight for freedom, for justice, for peace and human brotherhood, is of greater concern to the human family than is a passing success. The labor movement of America recognizes the tremendous struggle of the masses of the people in all history to obtain the right, and the setbacks they have often had to endure and the sacrifices they have had to make, decade by decade, cycle by cycle, in the march and the trend of the cause of freedom of America, forward, onward and upward.

CORRESPONDENCE



BLOOMINGTON, ILL.

Mr. D. J. Tobin, Indianapolis, Ind.:

Dear Sir and Brother—With the coming of cool weather Local 333 has started its series of entertainments, which will be given to the membership throughout the winter months. This plan was quite successfully worked out last winter, and we find that it stimulates interest among the members and causes them to take a renewed interest in the affairs of their organization. Every other Saturday night a dance is given at the hall; the boys bring their wives and enjoy the evening. By this means our members are brought closer together and we all get better acquainted, which is quite helpful to the organization in a general sense. Other features of amusement will perhaps be arranged from time to time, by which we expect to make use of our winter evenings to the betterment of our union.

Local 333 is "going fine," and we are pleased to report progress. Our members are all employed and are receiving wages that have been increased nearly 300 per cent. since our local organization was formed.

Steps were taken at the last meeting to adjust our monthly dues so as to provide for the increase in the rate of our per capita to the International. Information that the convention had raised strike benefits to \$10 a week instead of \$5 a week as heretofore, came as welcome news to our members.

We are making a special effort to enroll every teamster and chauffeur in Bloomington as a member of our organization and results of our efforts have been very gratifying. "Hold the fort," fellow members; Bloomington is coming and

expects soon to be numbered among the 100 per cent. teamsters and chauffeurs' organization.

MARTIN A. DILLMON,

Local 333.

PHILADELPHIA, PA.

Mr. D. J. Tobin, Indianapolis, Ind.:

Dear Sir and Brother—I wish you would kindly publish this rough sketch of a few facts of interest concerning Local No. 470 so that the stay-at-home members may know the real truth about our local instead of asking those who profess to know, but don't.

Local No. 470 was granted its charter by the International September 28, 1912. At that time there was another fairly good local union in our city which, with proper care or attention, would still be here. Anyhow Local No. 470, with its officers, business representative, Organizer Ashton, and last, but not least, the rank and file of the membership in general, all working together, have made Local No. 470 a progressive local of drivers, chauffeurs, stablemen and helpers, which was badly needed, as the working conditions and wages were deplorable compared with what men working at the same craft were receiving in other cities. Our members have received various increases since our affiliation with the International and the A. F. of L. In some instances the increase was unbelievable, nevertheless true. During the war, which made conditions abnormal in our craft (and let me say right here I believe there were more teamsters and chauffeurs in service for democracy than any other craft) men were scarce; that is, good teamsters and chauffeurs; employers

were complaining, but the work had to go on. The war is now over and the good men who went away—those fortunate enough to return—are back on the job, but some of them, we are sorry to say, have forgotten that the local union of which they were at one time a member is still in business. The officers and business representatives have been doing everything they could to make them pay their dues. I cannot understand why our membership, if they are fair with themselves, cannot realize their position at this time, when the employers, with the assistance of the Manufacturers' Associations and the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, have but one object in view—to reduce wages and not the high cost of living. How are they going to do it? By the "open-shop" method, as they call it. There is no such thing as an open shop—it is either a union shop or a non-union shop, and the shop is what you and I, as teamsters, make it, and if ever we needed an organization it is now, so get some of that old-time pep which you used to have a few years ago together, when the employer knew that a man had to be a member of the union before he was allowed to work for him. You cannot be a union man and a boss' man and be fair with your fellow teamsters. So remember, brothers, that united we stand and divided we fall. If you cannot be the good union teamster or chauffeur that you were a few years ago, do not be a knocker, because when you have a knock to make, just stop to think where it stops—most of the time at your own door, because the knock you give about the president, secretary-treasurer or the business representative does not disturb them; it is the organization or himself that he knocks, and nine times out of ten a knocker is a boss' man, and after the boss

gets all the use he wants out of him he kicks him out.

Now, brothers, get back where you belong, in Local No. 470, an organization of workers, an organization run strictly on business methods, not run by one or two individuals; an organization that will do things for you, if you will only give it a boost, as other organizations receive from their membership, as I learned while attending the convention. It was a pleasure to hear the various delegates relate how the rank and file of their local union support their officers and make the rough edges smooth by attending their meetings and paying their dues without having a collector do so. The members of Local No. 470 could all do the same if they were so inclined. If this was done it would permit our president and business representative to devote considerable more time to organization work. The officers are only human and they lend every effort to the advancement of Local No. 470. For instance, in the Relief Fund Association, to which a brother of Local No. 470, who has been a member six months, pays his dues, if he becomes sick and notifies the local, sending a doctor's certificate, he will receive \$7.00 a week for thirteen weeks, and in the event of his death his family will receive \$100.00. Perhaps some of our members have heard the remark that the local does not pay these benefits. Well, those who make the remarks do not know what they are talking about, as you will see by the following figures, which represent the benefits paid to our unfortunate members and their families since the inception of our beneficial fund, which was inaugurated August 1, 1917: In 1918, during the flu epidemic, we gave relief to our members to the value of \$2,855.00; in the year 1919, \$3,010.00, and so far this year we gave relief to the value of

\$3,968.00, making the grand total of benefits paid \$9,833.00. There are many other kind acts which are performed by Local No. 470 about which the rank and file know nothing. They listen to the knocker, as I stated above, who does not tell of the good deeds that are done. If you want any information, or if an injustice has been done to you or anyone that you are interested in, come to the meeting and let all the members hear your complaint, and I am sure you will go home a much more enlightened brother than when you came, providing you desire to be fair. Our laws will be lived up to to the letter and will not be broken because some brother is a friend of mine.

Brothers, when you are through reading this article, kindly see that a friend of yours, a non-union teamster or chauffeur, reads it and have him pass it along, as it may do some good. In conclusion, I wish you and your families a Merry Christmas and Happy New Year.

Yours fraternally,
 GEORGE TROUTS,
 Secretary Local 470.

CIVILIZATION'S GOAL IS MEN NOT PRODUCTS

New York.—"Men, not things, is the true goal of civilization," said President Gompers in an address before the American Society of Mechanical Engineers.

"That civilization fails that does not produce great men and great women, able to create and to use with discernment the material things that serve the spirit. Who can estimate the worth of human beings? I submit that the true ethical point of view of production is that the man himself is the main product and the materials the by-product, and it is in this clearer point of view, it seems to me, the way lies open for joining the forces

which the labor movement represents and the forces represented by the activities of your own societies.

"The old feeling of craftsmanship, which existed before the industrial revolution came about, has been greatly modified because of the perfection reached in machine design. This process, however, has been carried entirely too far, for in many places the man has become a human connecting link in a machine and mastered by it instead of controlling the machine himself, as he did with the tools in the old days.

"The result is that today men's work tends to become mere toil, so it seems to me that the task that lies before us is to develop a definite kind of working environment which will be attractive and which will inspire rather than repulse the workman. The work itself must become a central concern. This cannot be brought about unless the man finds the opportunity for self-expression in the day's work and a chance to exercise his creative impulses.

"It is the deadly monotony of repetitive work that is at the root of most of our troubles and I, therefore, in the name of the workers, urge upon you engineers to direct your energies to the solution of this problem.

"Beware that the machines you create do not become a Frankenstein and enslave the human race."
 —News Letter.

The man who is worthy of being a leader of men will never complain of the stupidity of his helpers, of the ingratitude of mankind, nor of the inappreciation of the public. These things are all a part of the great game of life, and to meet them and not go down before them in discouragement and defeat is the final proof of power.—Elbert Hubbard.

About 500 men of the mechanical department of the Wabash Railroad at Springfield, Ill., were laid off October 12.

New York Central Railroad at Elkhart, Ind., reduced force 10 per cent. in main shops on October 9.

Railway News Bureau said railroads centering in Chicago are letting out from 10 per cent. to 15 per cent. of employes and added that the movement is not brought about by business depression. While the government had the roads there was a tendency to employ too many men, this being especially true of the accounting line. The roads are now trying to get back to normal.

A reduction of 20 per cent. in the shop forces of the Norfolk & Western Railway at Roanoke, Va., beginning with laborers and helpers became effective on October 16.

Lehigh Valley Railroad has laid off 10 per cent. of the force in machine and car shops at Sayre, Pa. Roundhouse workers are expected to get a like notice.

The plant of Biddle & Smart Co., Amesbury, Mass., manufacturers of automobile bodies, has been closed for an indefinite period; 1,500 employes are affected by the shutdown.

Timken Roller Bearing Company, Columbus, Ohio, has laid off about 900 of their 1,600 employes.

The automobile tire-making plant of the Hood Rubber Co., Watertown, Mass., has been closed in most departments for an indefinite period; about 900 employes are affected.

Several hundred have been thrown out of employment at the Sharon plant of the Savage Arms Corporation which has closed down for an indefinite period. Thousands of dollars in rebuilding the pressed steel department has just been expended.

Labor restlessness in the Shenango Valley has been reduced to the minimum and there has been a proportionate increase in efficiency. Steel workers generally are hoping for a steady period of prosperity. Labor departments are experiencing no trouble now in securing all the labor required.

The working schedule at the plant of the New Haven Clock Co. has been cut from six days a week to four days.

The Pepperell Manufacturing Co., Biddeford, Me., on October 4 began to operate on a four-day schedule, or thirty-nine hours a week.

The Pennsylvania Textile Company, Central Falls, R. I., put into effect a reduction of 15 per cent. in wages of 300 weavers of silk goods.

Owing to unsettled conditions of the cotton goods market cotton mills in Spartansburg, S. C., will suspend operations for three days beginning October 21.

Botany Worsted Mills, Passaic, N. J., employing 6,200 men and women, will operate its plant only four days a week, effective immediately.

About 2,000 employes of S. Slater & Sons, Inc., South Village, Mass., woolen and worsted mills, returned to work on full time October 18, accepting 15 per cent. cut in pay, having chosen between indefinite shutdown and decrease in wages.

About 4,000 employes of the Lawrence Manufacturing Co., Lowell, Mass., have offered to accept a 15 per cent. reduction in wages if they can be kept at work.

The Sharp Manufacturing Co., New Bedford, Mass., manufacturers of fine cotton goods, shut down October 15 and will remain closed until conditions in the cotton goods market show a change for the better; about 1,500 employes are affected.

Official Magazine
of the
**International Brotherhood
of Teamsters, Chauffeurs
Stablemen and Helpers
of America**

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of
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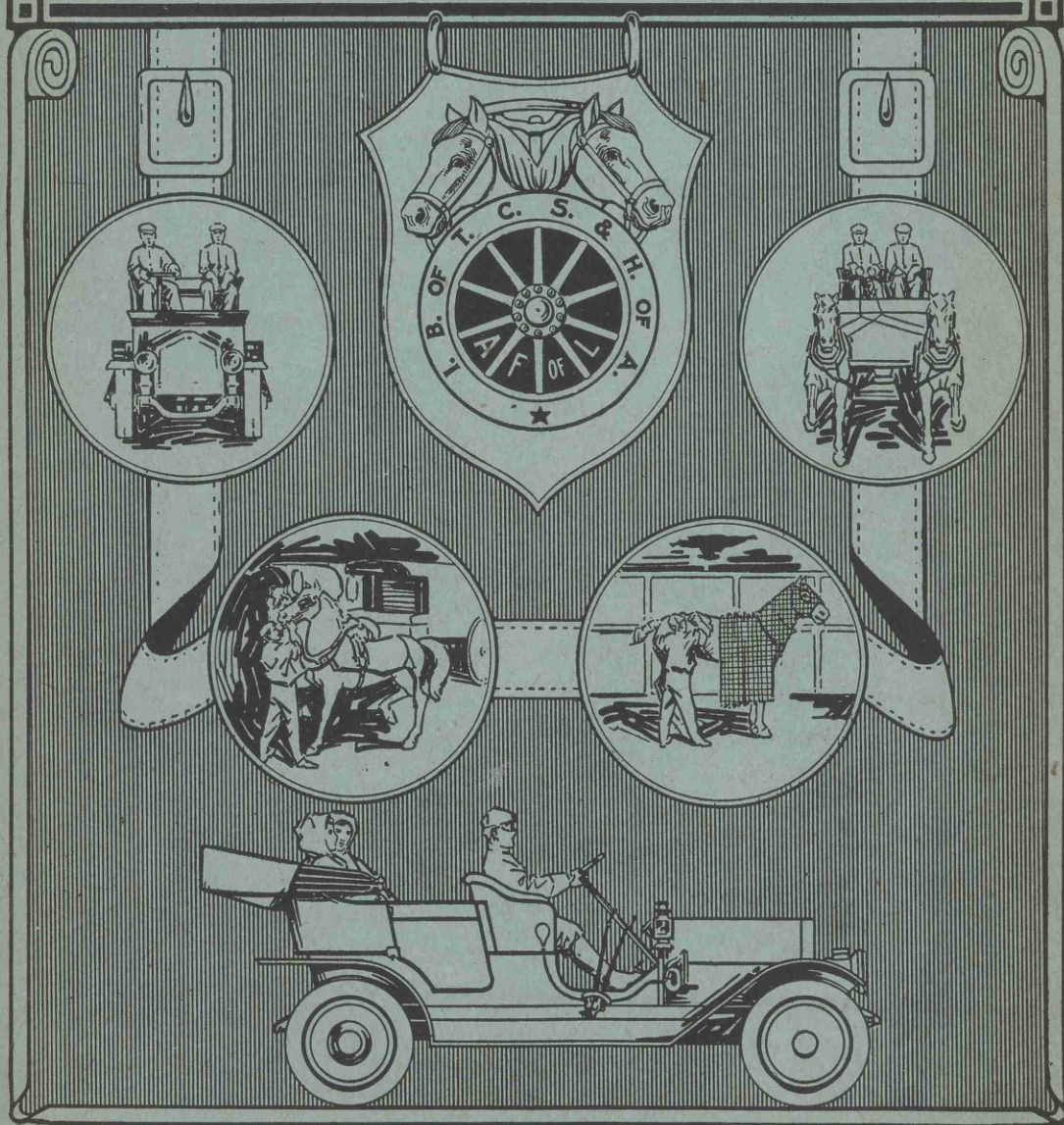
THOMAS L. HUGHES, Secretary

222 East Michigan Street

Indianapolis, Indiana

JANUARY, 1921

OFFICIAL MAGAZINE OF INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD TEAMSTERS • CHAUFFEURS STABLEMEN AND HELPERS OF AMERICA



The Editor desires to express to the membership of our International Union the wish for a happy, prosperous and successful new year.

The open-shop propaganda of the employers is not making much headway in our organization. The only place that we hear about it to any extent is around New York. The majority of employers throughout the country realize that during the war our International Union was not unjust and did not act unreasonably, but that we faithfully observed the contracts that we had entered into, so we are now reaping the reward for our square dealing with the public and our employers during the dark days of the war.

The 30-cent per capita tax has been paid by the greater part of our membership for the month of December. Very few objections were raised to same, the membership realizing that the acts of the convention were legitimate and needful.

During the last quarter our funds held up about the same as the quarter previous. There was no increase in our balance, but we paid strike benefits to the Van Drivers of New York City, Local No. 273, amounting to about \$22,000.00, and to the Taxicab Drivers of Philadelphia, over \$10,000.00. In addition we had the expenses of the convention, which is no small item, when you take into consideration the moving of our entire office to the convention city and the enormous printing bills that had to be paid. Our balance December 1st was \$564,785.22. We received per capita tax on 105,966 members in October and 121,050 members in November. There will be a falling off for the months of December, January and February because of the unemployment prevailing throughout the country.

— OFFICIAL MAGAZINE — INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF TEAMSTERS-CHAUFFEURS - STABLEMEN AND HELPERS -



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MEETING OF THE GENERAL EXECUTIVE BOARD



THE General Executive Board opened its sessions at Headquarters in Indianapolis at 10 a. m., Monday, December 13, 1920; all

members present.

The General President, after giving a general outline of conditions surrounding the organization, stated that he reluctantly decided to call a meeting of the Board, understanding very well that it would be quite an inconvenience to many of the members, besides the expense of traveling to Indianapolis, but many matters of a serious nature having arisen since the adjournment of the convention, he felt compelled to call the Board together.

The general open-shop policy threatened by the employers throughout the country and by many of our employers required immediate attention and necessitated a plan of action on the part of our General Executive Board.

The General President stated that the membership of our organization was holding up in splendid shape, although there are hundreds of men out of employment in many cities; that the changes in our Constitution adopted by the convention were being favorably commended by nearly every section of the

country, with the exception of one or two places, and that the spontaneous response of the local unions toward meeting the increase in per capita tax was both encouraging and surprising.

The General President then stated that he had received several communications from Cleveland, stating that conditions there were not being run as they ought to be, said communications containing certain statements against Vice-President King, all of which he had a desire to lay before the Board, but he first wanted to hear from Vice-President King on the matter. Vice-President King then read the following statement:

Cleveland, Ohio, Dec. 11, 1920.

To the Members of the General Executive Board:

Gentlemen and Comrades — In view of the fact that there is considerable talk around Cleveland against me, which statements are that I am not acting in the best interest of the International Union, and as I understand that there are charges now preferred against me, and I know that all of you men on the Board who have absolute confidence in me are placed in rather an embarrassing position, as I would be were similar charges and statements made against any of you men, I desire, therefore, in view of the fact that I have the kindest feelings for each member of this Board, in order to relieve you of any embarrassment, knowing your feelings towards me, and in the best interest of the International Union, for which I have the highest love and regard, and for which I shall always work as faithfully as is in my power to do so, I desire to tender my resignation as Third Vice-President of the International Union.

I have given careful thought to this action and have reached this decision. I am not doing it for any

other purpose except to prove that my first thought is for our International Union and its welfare.

Fraternally yours,

GEORGE W. KING.

The General Executive Board then asked Brother King if he would kindly retire from the Board meeting for a few minutes, which he did, and after discussing his resignation the Board made the following statement:

"On the resignation of Third Vice-President King, which he has handed to the General Executive Board, the General Executive Board desires to say to Brother King that they deeply regret his decision in this matter.

"He has been a faithful colleague and co-worker with the members of the Board and they sincerely trust that the time will again come when perhaps Brother King may find his way clear to associate and act in the same capacity from which he is now resigning.

"Due to the fact that he has, as stated in his resignation, given this matter serious thought and has reached this decision, the General Executive Board believes, therefore, in respect to Brother King's wishes, that it is compelled to accept his resignation as Third Vice-President, and that said action has been taken on the resignation of Brother George King and accepted unanimously by the General Executive Board.

"We desire to again express our kindest feelings to Brother King and wish him success and prosperity, and we believe that the statements made by him—that he will continue to work for the upbuilding and preservation of our organization and will do everything in his power to aid and assist in carrying out the laws of the International Union—are made in all sincerity."

Brother King then appeared before the Board and placed the fol-

lowing document before them:

"To the General Executive Board:

"Brothers—I am making a request that the Board declare the nomination of officers of Local No. 407 illegal on the ground that the secretary stated that the three trustees had to be elected at the last nomination, and that he stated that he was not to be elected, as he was put in office for five years.

"I do not believe it right that there should be any exception made on any man, and I am asking the Board if they will declare that nomination illegal on the above grounds.

"Fraternally yours,
"GEO. W. KING."

The action of the Board on that document is as follows:

On the request of Brother King of Local No. 407, submitted to the General Executive Board, that the nominations which have taken place in that local union be declared illegal on the ground that they were not in accordance with the law; after having gone into the entire subject and listened to both Brother King and Brother Flynn of Local No. 407, the General Executive Board has deemed it advisable, in the interest of all concerned, that another nomination and election in Local Union No. 407 take place; that a reasonable length of time expire between the nomination and election—the time to be set by the General Executive Board for the convenience of the parties interested; that the Australian ballot be used in the election; that an International Officer be sent to Cleveland to preside over the nomination and election; that said International Officer be instructed to see to it that no man casts his vote in the election of this local union that has not paid his dues for the month previous to the election; that all members desiring to vote must present their due books; that said due books must be

stamped by the representative to prevent any man voting in said election more than once.

The men elected shall be declared the duly elected representatives of the local union and the International Union will stand back of this election and will do everything in its power to assist the newly elected representatives.

The term of office shall be for a period of two years beginning January 1, 1921, and ending January 1, 1923, with the exception of the trustees, who shall be elected, one for one year, one for two years and one for three years.

It is further ordered that any member intimidating, or in any way interfering with the General Organizer of the International Union in his mission of taking charge of the election, upon a written statement being received at the General Office from said Organizer, said member shall be expelled from membership in the International Union.

It is further stated that any member of this local union doing anything which will prevent the further progress of this union, the General President stands instructed by the General Executive Board to suspend from membership the individual so guilty.

The date for the nomination shall be Wednesday evening, December 29th, and the election on Sunday, January 9, 1921; polls to open at 10 o'clock a. m. and close at 4 p. m.

The General Executive Board instructed General Organizer Farrell to proceed to Cleveland and take charge of the nomination and to be there also and take full charge of the election.

The General President then stated that in view of the fact that there were several complaints relative to conditions in the Joint Council in Cleveland, that said body was not in any way assisting

the local unions and did not function properly in accordance with the law. Upon discussing this entire subject the General Executive Board reached the following decision:

The General Executive Board, having before it several communications from local unions in Cleveland, pertaining to the Joint Council, after discussing the various communications, decided that in the interest of all local unions concerned, that the charter of the Joint Council of Cleveland be suspended temporarily; that the General Executive Board, in the near future, or as soon as conditions warrant, will reissue a charter to the several local unions in Cleveland.

In the meantime all local unions will carry on their business directly within their own organizations, and when any question arises that should be submitted to the Council, it can be submitted to the International Office.

Brother King expressed himself as being perfectly satisfied with this decision, and the Board adjourned at 5:30 p. m.

The Board met in general session Tuesday morning at 10 o'clock, all members present. There was also present Brother William Neer, president of the Chicago Joint Council, and Brother L. G. Goudie, secretary - treasurer of Local Union No. 772. Mr. Ross, who formerly built up the Jewel Tea Company to the large corporation it has been, was also present. The General President stated that Mr. Ross had met with him in the Copely-Plaza Hotel in Boston in an endeavor to reach a settlement between our International Union and the Jewel Tea Company. The General President, in behalf of the International Union, expressed his willingness to reach a settlement of the entire affair, and after a thorough dis-

cussion of the matter, submitted the following proposition:

In order to reach a harmonious understanding it is necessary for the company to comply with the following conditions:

1. All drivers, chauffeurs and helpers on wagons or trucks, men employed in stables as hostlers and washers, men employed in garages as laborers, such as washers, oilers and men engaged in rough work—all the classes named above—shall become members of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters and Chauffeurs in their several districts throughout the country within thirty (30) days from date of acceptance of this agreement.

2. In the several cities in which union men were employed by the Jewel Tea Company and through the misunderstanding existing between said company and the union, those men left the employment of the Jewel Tea Company, and where non-union men are now employed in those cities, wherever the local union refuses to admit to membership the men who filled the places of the strikers, it shall not be compulsory upon the local union to admit those men, but the International guarantees to use its best efforts to influence the local unions to admit to membership individuals now in the employment of the company, but failing to convince the local union as to the necessity of admitting to membership those men, the company shall, on the request of the local union officials in any district, suspend from employment the objectionable individual.

3. The prevailing rate of wages for tea and coffee drivers and salesmen shall obtain.

4. Should any misunderstanding arise between the company officials and the local union officials, no strike or lockout shall take place until the International Office has an opportunity to bring about a settlement.

5. When new wage scales and working conditions are considered the company officials and the local union officials shall endeavor to reach an agreement, but failing to reach said agreement, the International Union shall be notified and a representative of the International Union shall be sent into the district for the purpose of bringing about an understanding.

6. Should an agreement be reached and signed by the representatives of the company and the representatives of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters and Chauffeurs, said International Union will do everything in its power to help re-establish the confidence of the working people of the country in the Jewel Tea Company. Further, the General President shall circularize the labor movement of the country, notifying the several central bodies and state branches of the American Federation of Labor and all local unions of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters and Chauffeurs that a settlement between the International Brotherhood and the Jewel Tea Company has been reached; that all differences have been adjusted, and all union men will again be requested to recognize the Jewel Tea Company, in all its branches, as being friendly to our International Organization.

7. The General President of the International Union shall sign this agreement guaranteeing the good faith of the International Union, and Mr. Ross shall sign this agreement, guaranteeing the good faith of the Jewel Tea Company.

Mr. Ross appeared before the Board and stated that the Jewel Tea Company could not possibly accept our proposition and explained the situation existing in the Jewel Tea Company, the former standing and the present condition of the company. He said it was to be regretted that any mis-

understanding between our union and the company had arisen, as in all of the years that he was the guiding light of the company that he was always careful to work in harmony with organized labor, etc., but that he could not possibly accept the proposition submitted by the General President, which is published above, and asked that we settle up the differences between us in St. Louis, Chicago and Cincinnati, and that if things would run along all right for one year, that he would then endeavor to straighten up conditions in other places. The Board, after having discussed the matter with Mr. Ross for four hours, adjourned, but at its afternoon session again took up the situation and decided that in view of the fact that the International was not responsible for the fight against the Jewel Tea Company, that the unpleasant condition existing between the company and the International Union was forced on the International Union, although the International did everything in its power to prevent it, but the manager of the company at the time, not being willing to listen to reason and negotiate as had been done in previous years, brought about the condition within the company at the present time. The International Executive Board therefore decided that the proposition as submitted by the General President be the basis of settlement with the company; that if the company would agree to organize its men in the different cities throughout the country, that the International Union would do everything in its power to help the company. The General President was instructed to notify Mr. Ross to this effect.

The New York situation was discussed before the General Executive Board. The General President made a report on meeting with a committee of the business agents,

viz., Brother Kehoe, Brother Rox and Brother McNally, and stated that he told that committee that any grievance that they would submit to him that he, in turn, would submit it to the General Executive Board. He also invited them to send a committee to the Board meeting, so that they themselves could present their case to the Board if they desired to do so.

The grievances submitted by this committee, under which they in New York are suffering, are as follows:

1. That Organizer Cashal should be moved out of the district.

2. That Auditor Briggs should be compelled to make a report and somewhat relieved of the work as receiver for Local Union No. 584, Milk Wagon Drivers, and that he should be given to understand that the committee of four from the Joint Council, viz., Brothers Rox, Kehoe, McNally and Lacey, should be practically given charge of the affairs of Local Union No. 584.

3. That the New York locals, many of them, were unable to pay the increase in per capita tax, and the reason offered for their inability to do so was that owing to the depression in business the dues could not be raised, and then again, the membership were objecting to paying more money to the International for the purpose of paying large salaries to both Auditor Briggs and Organizer Cashal, as the committee believed they were not doing enough in New York for their salaries.

The General President further stated that he had received a message from New York stating that the Board of Business Agents had decided to send Brothers O'Neill and Kehoe to the meeting of the General Executive Board, and had later on received another communication stating that they had rescinded this action and would

not send the committee above named.

The General Executive Board, in discussing the first grievance, stated that it could not and would not agree to their request, that is, that Organizer Cashal be removed from New York City and sent elsewhere. The Board reserves the right to order any of its organizers anywhere it desires, and to grant such a request would be subordinating the power and authority of the International Union in local districts. Therefore, the request was refused.

On Grievance No. 2, which was that Auditor Briggs be removed as receiver, or his powers reduced, etc., the General Executive Board deemed it necessary to continue Brother Briggs as receiver, owing to conditions in the local, and therefore refused the request.

On Grievance No. 3, the payment of the increase in per capita tax, the General Executive Board decided that it was impossible for them to alter the action of the convention on the payment of the tax; that the New York delegation should have protested against this increase in tax at the convention if they believed it was unreasonable or unjust. Every delegate from New York and vicinity voted unanimously for the increase in tax. Among those who spoke in favor of it was Brother Kehoe and Brother McNally of Local No. 273 and Brother Brown of Local No. 807. Brother Kehoe of Local Union No. 273 was one of the first from New York to speak and apparently voiced the sentiments of the New York delegates. His statements taken from the verbatim proceedings of the convention, are as follows:

Delegate Kehoe, Local 273: I heard several of the members talking about what it meant to their organization, and I am disinclined to agree with their contention.

The International Union has gone along for years to my knowledge on the smallest per capita tax that any international union in this country has attempted to do business on.

True, we have a half-million dollars in our treasury. I wonder if the members realize that one week of a general strike, in which strike benefits would be paid, would clean out that enormous treasury?

We of New York, probably at present time the highest number numerically in the payment of per capita tax to the International Union, are inclined to agree with the report of the committee. A dollar initiation stamp sounds like a lot of money, 30 cents per capita tax sounds like a lot of money, but I am of the belief that if we are going to derive the benefits from the increased strike benefits recommended, the higher the per capita tax is the more you make it possible for the International Union to create a fund not of a half-million or one million, but five millions if necessary, and the harder you make it for the interests who are opposed to organized labor to break up your organization.

I hold that if you want a fifty-cent organization, pay 50 cents and get fifty-cent results. There is nothing in my mind that I can make consistently agree with the policy of low-paying dues, low-paying taxes and expecting large increases in wages. It is impossible. Every organization in the country that is successful, the largest organizations outside the pale of the American Federation of Labor, the railroad brotherhoods, are the highest dues-paying and per capita-paying organizations in the United States today, and I might say, the most successful.

I am of the opinion that the recommendation of the Constitution Committee on the dollar initiation fee and 30 cents per capita tax will

enable our International Union to enforce and put into effect the various recommendations that have been made, and I hope the delegates to this convention will give the thing serious thought for a few moments, realizing that the more we have in our International treasury the less liable will the big interests be to fight us. It may mean less in our local treasuries, but the big interests are more afraid to fight international unions than local unions, and I believe a higher tax will be the salvation of our organization within the next five years.

The General Executive Board laid down the following rules and regulations governing New York City:

1. That the organization known as the Board of Business Agents be dissolved immediately, as there was no authority, under the Constitution, for any district to form such an organization; that the only recognized legal bodies covered by the International Constitution are the local unions, the joint councils and the International organization. Therefore, the officers in New York are ordered to dissolve the Board of Business Agents at once and transact their business in the Joint Council.

2. The New York Joint Council is ordered to withdraw its committee of four from any further activity or dealings in the matter of Local Union No. 584; that the entire charge of that local union is in the hands of the receiver, General Auditor Briggs, who is acting for the International body.

3. That in view of the fact there was a protest from Local Union No. 694 as to the manner in which their election was interfered with by what they styled a gang of outsiders, which they termed rough men, and as the members had no power to vote in accordance with their conscience, the General Ex-

ecutive Board ordered that upon investigation, if the statements as contained in the petition are proven to be facts, that the election had been interfered with, that a new election be held and that all outsiders, not members of this local union, be instructed to keep away from and allow the local union to transact its own business. This does not apply to salaried officers of the International, who have a right to visit at all times any meeting called under the name of the International Union.

The General Executive Board expressed its regret that the committee did not come from New York to Headquarters for the purpose of entering more fully into a discussion of the situation.

The General Executive Board believes that if the officers of the local unions in New York will lend their assistance in carrying out the laws of the International and obey the rulings of the General Executive Board herein set forth, that ultimately everything will come out all right in New York. The Board further believes that we need all of the unity, harmony and solidarity of our organizations in New York to withstand the fight that is now being made against the union by the employers' and merchants' associations, and that anything that will weaken the local unions, especially a refusal on the part of the local unions to comply with the laws and mandates of the General Executive Board, will only tend eventually to destroy the local unions.

The Board further desires to express the hope that every local union in New York and vicinity will remain in affiliation with the International organization, but that any local unions refusing to carry out the above conditions are herewith requested to return their charters, seals, etc., to the Interna-

tional Union immediately and sever their connections with the International organization and the American Federation of Labor.

We hope that the good judgment of the officers and membership of our local unions will not allow this condition to prevail, but the International Union has no alternative except to insist that the same laws govern every part of the country.

If the local unions or officers of the local unions refuse deliberately to obey the mandates of the International Union herein set forth, then, although we sincerely regret their severance of relations, there is no other alternative, and the General Executive Board will enforce the laws of the International Union and put into effect the decision herein unanimously reached.

Motion was made and carried that the General Secretary stand instructed to mail out a copy of the action of the Board in this case to all local unions in New York.

A telegram was received from New York stating that at a meeting of the Joint Council the night before, action was taken which was contrary to the laws of the International Union, viz., that the Joint Council decided that it would run the affairs of Local Union No. 584 from that day on, and that a meeting of the local union would be called as soon as possible and the membership notified that the Joint Council had decided to take over the affairs of the local union and place the entire business of the local union in the hands of a committee of four. In view of the fact that this proceeding was entirely illegal and unconstitutional, the General Executive Board reached the following decision, and ordered the following statement, in the form of a telegram, to be sent to Secretary Thomas J. Lyons of the Joint Council and to all of the local unions in New York City:

Indianapolis, Ind., Dec. 15, 1920.
Thomas J. Lyons, 107 West Forty-seventh Street, New York City, N. Y.:

The General Executive Board, now in session, has received information that at last night's meeting of the Joint Council of New York City certain action was taken pertaining to Local 584, Milk Wagon Drivers, to-wit: That the Joint Council have full charge of the affairs and of the office of Local 584 and that a meeting of that local union be called for the purpose of informing membership of the action of the Joint Council. The General Executive Board has unanimously decided that this action is unnecessary and illegal, as it is an attempt to supersede the power and former action of the General Executive Board in the case of Local 584. The International organization disapproves the action of the Joint Council and informs the Joint Council that should said body insist on putting into practice said motion in defiance of the General Executive Board, that the International organization shall and will discipline the Joint Council, or those responsible for such action, even to the extent of suspension of the charter of the Joint Council or locals constituting Joint Council.

D. J. TOBIN,
General President.

T. L. HUGHES,
General Secretary-Treasurer.

The General President and General Secretary-Treasurer were also instructed to send the following telegram to Local Union No. 584:

Indianapolis, Ind., Dec. 15, 1920.
Frederick Sterbinsky, 316 West Forty-second Street, New York City, N. Y.:

International Executive Board disapproves of action of Joint Council. You are advised by Board, here in session, to continue running your organization under

instructions of General Auditor. International Union will render all possible assistance to membership of local union obeying mandates and orders of International Executive Board.

D. J. TOBIN,
General President.

T. L. HUGHES,
General Secretary-Treasurer.

On Friday morning, December 17, 1920, a communication was received from Thomas J. Lyons, secretary of Joint Council No. 16, New York City, in which was set forth the grievances as presented by the General President to the General Executive Board the day previous. In addition, this communication contained statements that some dissatisfaction existed due to the fact that the International organization did not help during the Transportation Trades Council strike; that the International did not render any assistance to that movement. Also that there was some dissatisfaction because of the position taken by the general organization in the case of Local No. 807, where the General President had practically stated, that if the men went on strike their strike would not be endorsed by the General Executive Board.

In answer to the foregoing statement the General Executive Board instructed the General President to prepare a statement in answer and to submit same to the Board for consideration and action. The following statement, or answer, was submitted and approved by the General Executive Board and ordered sent to the secretary of the Joint Council of New York City, and also to all local unions in that city, and further ordered that the matter be published in full in the monthly official Magazine:

Indianapolis, Ind., Dec. 17, 1920.
Mr. Thomas J. Lyons, Secretary
New York Joint Council No. 16,
107 West Forty-seventh Street,
New York City, N. Y.:

Dear Sir and Brother—Your "Bill of Grievances" received this morning, Friday, December 17, 1920.

Not expecting that I would receive any such bill of grievances, etc., from the Joint Council, and having in mind that I had already received pretty nearly the same kind of statements or grievances from the committee of three who met me in my room in the Elks' Building in New York City, I laid the whole matter before the General Executive Board as presented to me by Brothers Rox, McNally and Kehoe.

As stated above, their statements were somewhat similar to the ones submitted and approved by the Joint Council in the resolution brought to the Joint Council by the Board of Business Agents.

A copy of the action of the Board will be sent to you and all of our local Unions in New York City. The Board acted on the grievances submitted by the committee to me, and I in turn submitted them to the General Executive Board.

However, in further answer, I desire to say that the General Executive Board this morning analyzed this Bill of Grievance in addition to what had already been presented by me and instructed me to convey to you the following message:

To the Local Unions in New York City:

That the statement made in the Bill of Grievances relative to the International Union not supporting the movement in New York, especially the Transportation Trades Council, are not a statement of facts; therefore, are not true, because when the formation of a Transportation Trades Council was first talked of the General President plainly stated, as representing the International Executive Board, that the International Union would not object to the

Teamsters going into the Transportation Council, but that the International Union would not be responsible for any strike benefits. In other words, that the funds and laws of the International Union did not provide for the payment of strike benefits in case our unions would become involved in a sympathetic strike with the Longshoremen; that the laws of the International only allowed the payment of strike benefits when a strike is endorsed by the International Executive Board to assist a sister local union that is on strike, or in the case of a strike of a local union that has been regularly approved by the General Executive Board. The committee then agreed that they would not expect the International to finance sympathetic strikes which might occur as a result of the formation of the Transportation Trades Council, so that in the beginning it was clearly understood that the International could not, in accordance with our laws, pay strike benefits in sympathetic strikes arising out of affiliation to the so-called Transportation Trades Council. Further, when T. V. O'Connor of the Longshoremen requested the International Union to interfere and insist on a settlement of the strike in New York, Brother Kehoe and several others of the committee of business agents requested that the International Executive Board have nothing to do in the situation. I might say this, that the International Executive Board had no intention of entering into the case as it existed there at that time, but that we believed it best for all interested that the committee then handling it should be allowed to continue to handle it, and the committee in New York seemed satisfied with such a decision.

As to the charges against Brother Cashal that he is incompetent, the General Executive Board is the

best judge of that. He had done great work in New York, up until recently, and the Board is satisfied that the charges are not well founded. As to the talk of dishonesty, the General Executive Board has never heard from any of the local unions any charge of dishonesty against Brother Cashal, and the Board has absolute confidence in him as to his honesty and unless charges are preferred and facts shown and proven on anything that he may have done which is dishonest, that the Board does not feel justified and does not intend to consider him in any way, shape or manner as dishonest. General statements prove nothing and no charges were ever presented in writing to the Board proving or attempting to prove that Brother Cashal is dishonest.

As to the statements made against Brother Briggs, the General Auditor, the International Executive Board has answered them in another communication, which will be forwarded to you and all of our other local Unions in New York, but I might add that in accordance with the power vested in the International Executive Board by our Constitution, the General Executive Board, whenever they deem it necessary, may appoint a receiver, and in this case they have done so, not only because they wanted to do it, but the conditions in the local union were such that the members of the local union, or a large number of the members, sent a petition to the International Executive Board asking that such be done.

As to the statements made on page 4 relative to Local No. 807, that the International had prematurely said that no strike benefits would be paid, this is not a statement of facts. It is an absolute falsehood. The General President, in conference with the committee of four from the Board of Business

Agents (Brothers McNally, Lacey, Kehoe and Rox), also Brother Briggs, in the Continental Hotel, in going over the matter asked them to express their candid opinion as to what chance Local Union No. 807 had of winning a strike, in case a strike endorsement was granted, and when asked to express their honest opinion, said that in their judgment there was no chance of winning a strike, should a strike involving a great part of the membership take place. Upon this statement being made and upon the General President knowing that in Chicago at that time the employers were putting their feet down and refusing to grant the truck drivers there any further conditions, the General President said first that the law must be lived up to, a secret ballot of the membership of the local taken as to whether or not the men desired to strike, and if two-thirds of the men voted in favor of a strike, then the matter would be submitted to the General Executive Board, but that I would be negligent in my duties as General President unless I gave the Board the information I had received from the representatives of our union, namely, the committee of four, and others, that there was very little chance of the local union winning the strike, and that, in my opinion, the Board would not perhaps endorse a strike. Those are the statements I made to the committee, but if the statements of the General President have been wilfully misconstrued then, of course, he has no other alternative except to state the facts as they exist.

On that same day the General President promised the Milk Wagon Drivers the full support of the International Union on the question of submitting their wage scale to arbitration. He said that the points to be arbitrated were

the difference between the old and the new wage scale, while some of the committee of four had expressed themselves as stating that they believed that the entire wage scale should be submitted to arbitration. The General President felt that this would be an injustice and absolutely wrong and that the local union should not submit the question of the union shop—a condition which the Milk Wagon Drivers had been enjoying for nearly four years—to arbitration, and while addressing the officers and a large committee of the Milk Wagon Drivers stated that he would recommend to the General Executive Board the endorsement of their strike, and that they should submit for arbitration only the point of difference between the old and new wage scale. His action on that same day proved that the International was anxious and willing to spend their money and render all possible assistance where there was a possible chance for the union winning a strike.

In the case of Local Union No. 273, the International paid out \$22,000.00 in strike benefits. The General President was invited by the representatives of the local union to come to New York City and endeavor to assist and advise the local union. He went to New York, first met the representatives of the local union and said to them, "I am here to do just as you tell me. How can I help you?" The whole matter was threshed out in the headquarters in New York, and it was agreed that in view of the fact that the men were almost ready to break away from the strike, that the best thing that could be done was to go into the union and advise that they accept the proposition of the employers, which was that the men call the strike off and return to work wearing their buttons. The General President, with Organizer Gil-

lespie and Auditor Briggs, attended the meeting of Local Union No. 273 that afternoon. Brothers McNally, McKenna and Kehoe first addressed the meeting and advised that a settlement take place along the lines suggested, as it was better to save the union if possible. Brother Gillespie then spoke and the General President followed, addressing the meeting, speaking upwards of an hour, and closed his address by saying that the local should submit this proposition of the employers to a vote as to whether or not the members desired to accept it; that if they voted to accept the proposition it was their affair, and if they voted to reject it the International would continue to pay strike benefits. A ballot was taken at headquarters the next day, and by a vote of almost four to one the men voted to accept the proposition.

The best proof that the International was willing and anxious to help Local Union No. 273 was, first, that the International Union endorsed the strike and paid strike benefits to the amount of \$22,000; next, that the General President, on going to New York, first consulted with the officers of the union and said that he was at their disposal to render whatever assistance he could and do as they requested him.

Third. In addressing the meeting the General President said that whatever was done by the union would be satisfactory to him; that if they voted to go back to work, it was their affair; that if they voted to continue the strike, that the International would continue to finance the strike.

In every instance that has arisen within the last ten years—since the return of the United Teamsters to the International Union—the General President and General Executive Board have done everything in their power to help and

assist the New York unions. Furthermore, every legal strike approved by the International Executive Board, strike benefits have been paid until the strike has been declared off or won by the unions.

Fraternally yours,

DANIEL J. TOBIN,
General President.

THOMAS L. HUGHES,
General Secretary-Treasurer.

Indianapolis, Ind., Dec. 20, 1920.

To All Local Unions in New York City:

Dear Sirs and Brothers—The General Executive Board makes a special appeal to you to abide by the action of the International Executive Board and to remain in affiliation with the International Union and pay your per capita tax to the International Union because there was never a time within the history of the union when we needed to remain more loyal to one another and save ourselves from the wreckage of the Employers' and Merchants' associations.

Secession movements have been tried in many sections of the country and in many unions, and the unions in New York have had the experience of severing their connections with the International Union and the American Federation of Labor, and in such movements only the rank and file have suffered.

The International officers are only the servants of the International organization. Many of the officers in New York are our warmest personal friends, and we certainly will regret if anything takes place which will compel the severance of relations.

The International Executive Board further pledges its support to the New York local unions in the future, in accordance with our General Constitution.

Again we advise you to remain loyal to the International Union

and the American Federation of Labor. None will be the losers except the rank and file, and those now holding office can never return to the International Union should the unions sever relations with the International Union.

In behalf of the General Executive Board,

Fraternally yours,

DANIEL J. TOBIN,
General President.

THOMAS L. HUGHES,
General Secretary-Treasurer.

Organizer Farrell presented, for the information of the Executive Board, a report on the conditions surrounding Local No. 447 of Dayton, Ohio. The Board instructed the organizer to turn over all moneys, books and other property held by him to the local union as soon as a secretary has been elected and bonded in accordance with the laws of the International Union.

Organizer Farrell asked the Executive Board to reimburse him for a loss incurred by fire in a Cleveland hotel while working under the instructions of the General President. In view of the fact that this matter had been acted on by the Board some time ago, it was necessary to reconsider the previous action, which was done, and Brother Farrell was paid the loss, which amounted to \$173.50.

Motion was made and carried that all special organizers appointed by the Board be paid a salary of seventy-five (\$75.00) dollars per week.

Motion was made and carried that, in view of the fact the International Union has an agreement with the American Railway Express Company covering all employes driving teams, automobiles, helpers in stables and garages, the General Executive Board, in its judgment, believes that, for the best interest of all employes under our jurisdiction working for the express company, they belong to

one union in their respective districts or cities, and so ordered.

A letter was received and read from Birt Showler of Vancouver, B. C., Canada, requesting the International for help in the way of an organizer. The matter was referred to Organizer Casey, with instructions to visit Vancouver as early as possible.

A request was read coming from Local Union No. 690 of Spokane, Wash., for the services of Organizer Casey, this matter also being referred to Organizer Casey with instructions to visit that city and report his findings to the General Office.

A request was read coming from Local Union No. 196 of Miami, Fla., asking for the elimination of per capita tax which the local union owes the International Union. The Secretary was instructed to communicate with this local union and explain the position of the International on these matters.

Resolutions referred to the General Executive Board by the Cleveland convention.

Resolution submitted by delegate of Local Union No. 50, relative to the jurisdiction between our organization and the International Hod Carriers' Union. The Board, after discussing the question, decided it would be unwise to enter into a controversy with the Hod Carriers at this time, in view of the fact there were only a few men involved and believed this matter could be settled locally.

Resolution submitted by Delegates from Local Union No. 623 relative to affiliation with the Railway Department of the American Federation of Labor. The Executive Board could not see its way to affiliate with the Railway Department of the American Federation of Labor at this time.

Resolution submitted by the delegates of Local Union No. 723 relative to the jurisdiction over men

driving for breweries. The Board considered the question and decided that, in view of the fact we had an agreement with the Brewery Workers' Union, that the said agreement be continued and no action taken on the resolution.

Resolution submitted by delegate of Local Union No. 488 relative to organizers being placed in the Dominion of Canada. This entire matter was placed in the hands of the General President and General Secretary-Treasurer.

Resolution presented by delegate of Local Union No. 369 regarding the jurisdiction between our organization and the Longshoremen's Union. This matter was referred to the General President and General Secretary-Treasurer to do all in their power to bring about a satisfactory understanding between the two unions.

Resolution presented by the delegates of Local Union No. 229 relative to having printed in the Constitution the jurisdiction claimed by our International organization. The Board decided that, in view of the fact the Constitution was adopted in its entirety at the convention, it was not in their power to comply with the provisions called for in the resolution.

Resolution presented by delegate of No. 274, relative to the jurisdiction of the moving of pianos. The Board decided that no action be taken at this time owing to the unsettled conditions now existing in New York City.

Resolution presented by Delegate Tripp of Local No. 199 relative to the elimination of per capita tax. This matter was referred to the General Auditor, with instructions to investigate and report the matter to the General Secretary-Treasurer, and upon receipt of such report the Secretary was granted full power to act on the matter.

Resolution presented by the General Auditor relative to revising

the books furnished to the local unions. This matter was referred to the General Secretary-Treasurer and General Auditor to act on same in the near future.

On the matter of affiliation of the International Union with the Canadian Trades Congress the General Secretary was instructed to write and get all information relative to such affiliation and also instructed to bring about the affiliation as soon as possible.

On the matter relative to the affiliation of the International Union with the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor the General President and General Secretary-Treasurer were granted full power to act on the matter and to affiliate as soon as possible.

Board adjourned, subject to call of the General President and General Secretary.

WEST VIRGINIA SITUATION

Announcing a plan to carry the fight of the Mingo county coal miners "to a finish" and criticizing the attitude of Governor Cornwell of West Virginia, officials of the United Mine Workers of America have issued a statement declaring that the union's international board has decided unanimously to give the miners in Mingo county and Alabama the "full moral and financial assistance of the International Union." The statement declares, in its criticism of Governor Cornwell, if he "were true to his oath of office he would disarm private detectives," alleged to be employed by West Virginia operators.

In discussing the situation of the 42,000 miners and families in Alabama "in their wonderful fight for the right to establish the principle of collective bargaining and compel recognition by the coal operators of the award of the United States Bituminous Coal Commission," the statement declared that "intense persecution" has been heaped upon them by the arrogant coal operators of the State.

The statement further declares that: "Every conceivable method has been used against them—eviction from their homes, foreclosure upon their household and personal

effects, false arrests and imprisonment, prohibition of the right of assemblage, denial of their statutory and constitutional rights, unwarranted use of state troops in the coal fields, denunciation by an unfavorable press and a most malicious public campaign of misrepresentation have all failed to break their dauntless spirit. It is indeed questionable whether the people of Armenia, whose sufferings have shocked the world, are in any worse circumstances than the oppressed mine workers of Alabama."

In Mingo county, West Virginia, the declaration points out: "They have waged a remarkable struggle against overwhelming odds, despite the innumerable outrages inflicted by the private army of hired gunmen employed by the coal operators of that region. Many men have been shot in cold blood by these modern Hessians, while in a multiplicity of instances others have suffered from brutal assaults upon their persons without having redress in the law. The Governor of that commonwealth has utterly failed to give protection to these citizens and has displayed his shameful weakness by recently falling for the use of Federal troops in the Mingo county strike field."—Indianapolis News.

OPEN SHOP THREATENS

The Social Action Department of the National Catholic Welfare Council makes the following statement:

The "open-shop" drive of certain groups of American employers is becoming so strong that it threatens not only the welfare of the wage-earners, but the whole structure of industrial peace and order. Employers sometimes favor the "open shop" because they do not want to be limited in the employment of men to union members. But the present drive is not of that kind. The evidence shows that in its organized form it is not merely against the "closed shop," but against unionism itself, and particularly against collective bargaining. Of what avail is it for workers to be permitted by their employers to become members of unions if the employers will not deal with the unions? The workers might as well join golf clubs as labor unions if the present "open-shop" campaign is successful.

The "open-shop" drive masks under such names as "The American Plan" and hides behind the pretense of American freedom. Yet its real purpose is to destroy all effective labor unions, and thus subject the working people to the complete domination of the employers. Should it succeed in the measure that its proponents hope it will thrust far into the ranks of the underpaid the body of American working people.

The bishops of the National Catholic War Council who issued the program of social reconstruction said: "It is to be hoped that this right—the right of labor to organize and to deal with employers through representatives — will never again be called into question by any considerable group of employers." The archbishops and bishops of the United States in

their pastoral letter proclaimed again "the right of the workers to form and maintain the kind of organization that is necessary and that will be most effectual in securing their welfare."

During the war the National War Labor Board recognized and protected a genuine kind of "open shop," one which assured the non-union man freedom and the members of the union the right of collective bargaining. That is not the kind of "open shop" for which the drive is now being made.

The unions were necessary even during the war, when working people found their labor in great demand. They are still more imperative now, and they must keep their strength and grow. Otherwise we shall see a repetition of the old bad days, when the workers were utterly dependent upon their employers.

There is great danger that the whole nation will be harmed by this campaign of a few groups of strong employers. To aim now at putting into greater subjection the workers in industry is blind and foolhardy. The radical movements and disturbances in Europe ought to hold a lesson for the employers of America. And the voice of the American people ought to be raised in the endeavor to drive this lesson home.

The people of India speak about 150 different languages, and are divided into forty-three distinct nationalities. This explains a great many things about India's troubles. If the situation in America were only half as bad our country could never have become the great self-governing republic it is today.

Commune with yourself once in a while; the results will be surprising and inspiring.

EDITORIAL

(By Daniel J. Tobin)

THE investigation in the building industry in New York is not alone showing up some of the crooked contractors, but it is showing up the big corporations, and Mr. Untermyer is forcing them to disgorge some of their inner workings. The United States Steel Corporation and the Bethlehem Steel Company both admit that they had an agreement that they would not sell any of their products to any contractor who would employ union men in the erection or use of such products when they went into a building. This is indeed a far-reaching conspiracy on the part of the millionaire employers to destroy labor unions. If this crime or conspiracy is not punishable by law, then we want to know what is an illegal act or conspiracy? Men of the highest importance in the business world testified, under oath, that they shut out or refused to sell steel to any employer hiring union iron workers; that unless said employers guaranteed that the structural iron work would be erected by non-union men, they found a way for refusing to fill their orders. Is it any wonder that we have discontent and rebellion, and that those who preach rebellion and Sovietism get a large following? Is it any wonder that even sane workingmen begin to think that there is no such thing as a square deal for a workingman? Not being able to stifle the organized labor movement by any of their other criminal tactics, they resort to a practice so contemptible, so low and so far-reaching that it is almost unbelievable that men who call themselves American citizens and who preach the doctrine of Washington and Lincoln, could be guilty of such crimes. Sometimes when an ordinary, innocent, uneducated, hard-working man goes wrong there is some excuse for him, but for the cold-blooded, highly educated, practical business man, having every resource at his disposal and through his environment for improving his mind, who willingly enters into a contract with another employer that their manufactured products will not be sold where union men are employed, for such an individual there is no excuse, and the penitentiary is where he ought to be lodged. We have confronting us today hundreds of thousands of men out of work, also hundreds of thousands of immigrants coming to our shores; we have millions of women and children starving throughout the world, and we are called upon to assist and help in every way possible, and then to find that instead of rendering that assistance, which is only the just due of every American citizen, to straighten out these affairs and help men to get back on their feet, the immensely wealthy are plotting, planning, scheming and hiring all kinds of scoundrels to destroy the only legitimate movement of the workers of this country today that is endeavoring to destroy or prevent revolution, anarchy and Sovietism. Let the employers remember that for every crime they commit against labor, for every conspiracy which they enter into against the trade union movement, there is undoubtedly going to be reprisal in some form or other. There never was a crook in the labor movement who was not made one by the crooked employer. There was never a wrongdoer within the Labor Movement who was not first started wrong by the employer. Then this standing of Mr. Gary, Mr. Schwab and their ilk with

their backs against the wall, is going to bring about reaction, and when it comes it will be meted out in double measure to those who deserve it. Were they to do the things they ought to do in this dangerous crisis confronting our country, they would help the Labor Movement that is standing for American principles and ideals. It is indeed true that the blindest person is he who refuses to see with his eyes open. The employers of this country who are banding themselves together for the purpose of promoting and helping towards the destruction of unions are helping to destroy the very foundation of American freedom and justice. But the Labor Movement will not be destroyed. The Labor Movement will continue to go on, and the dark days that now confront it, and which are to be found in every country in the world, caused by reaction resulting from idleness, dissatisfaction, discontent and high prices, those clouds will soon pass away and just so sure as the sun shines, the American Labor Movement will rise triumphantly from the conflict, and the employers who are now taking unfair advantage of Labor will be the ones who will suffer most when those dark days pass away.

UNDERSTAND, the laws of the organization are made by the convention and must be obeyed by each and every local union. Any local union that feels that it cannot obey the laws of the International, as it has contracted to do, has one other alternative, and that is, it can surrender its charter and seal and sever its connection with the International Union and the American Federation of Labor. There is no halfway business about this. The International Officers cannot grant you any concessions. They cannot change the Constitution, and it is absolutely unreasonable for you to expect them to do so, even if they could. There are no favorites. All must be treated alike. The Constitution is made by the general organization in its convention and the General Officers must carry out that Constitution, and all individuals and local unions that cannot obey that Constitution should immediately sever their connections with the International Union by sending back the property of the International organization. Should such a condition obtain, those who will suffer most will be the rank and file of the membership. The real union man bears up under trials and troubles just as well as he does in the days when everything is running smoothly. Grit your teeth and say to yourself that no matter how dark this cloud now appears, it will surely pass away, and after it has passed away there will be brightness and sunshine. Stick to and believe in the principle that everything is for the best, and things will come out all right in the end.

The International Union will deeply regret the loss of even its smallest local. Like a parent sad and lonely after its child, so it is with the parent body, the International Union.

A STATEMENT appearing in the press the other day giving the evidence of Miss McSwiney before the committee in Washington investigating conditions in Ireland perhaps needs some explanation. Miss McSwiney stated that she represents that part of the Irish people composing the Sinn Fein organization, and that they did not help Germany during the war, but, she added, "If they could have helped Germany they would have done so." In the judgment of the writer the latter part of the statement is not a statement of fact, and to allow it to

go unanswered would be doing an injustice to the 250,000 men of either Irish birth or extraction who wore the uniform of our country during the great World War. The statement appears to me to be rather a statement of an impetuous woman, who had very little knowledge of affairs in our country, who was entirely untrained, and whose bitter hatred of England was such that she gave expression to her own feelings rather than the exact conditions in Ireland during the war. Many of the great national weekly and daily publications of the country have written editorials on the statement made by Miss McSwiney and are endeavoring to besmirch the Irish people, saying that there is no doubt but what Miss McSwiney must have told the exact truth in that particular instance.

Immediately after the ending of the war I went all through Ireland, and saw hundreds of young Irishmen everywhere wearing the British uniform; many of them had returned from the conflict wounded, and all those men spoke in the most endearing terms of their companions in the American army. In going amongst the common people who did not participate in the war I found the greatest love for America that could be found anywhere, and I had just come from England, France, Holland and Belgium, and I had met in the International Trades Union Congress, which was held in Amsterdam, representatives from almost every country in Europe, but nowhere did I find that real, heartfelt love and sympathy for America that I found amongst the Irish people. The truth of the matter is, the average Irish family believes that America is the savior and protector, as well as the benefactor, of the Irish people. Next to their love for their religion and their country is their love for America, because nearly every family in Ireland has relatives and loved ones somewhere in the United States. The statement that the people of Ireland would take up arms against America by assisting Germany is a serious misrepresentation of the exact conditions. Were Germany engaged in a war against England single-handed, because of the persecution which the Irish people have suffered, both religious and political persecution, undoubtedly the people of Ireland would look for England's overthrow, believing that from such a result would come their own freedom more speedily. But with America fighting Germany Ireland would defend the Stars and Stripes as readily as she would defend the colors of her own country. Irishmen in Ireland and elsewhere have every reason to have this love and respect for the United States, because it is the only country in which they can obtain that freedom which for hundreds of years, generation after generation, they have yearned. The people of Ireland are a liberty-loving race and they love America because of the liberty she has extended to those who were forced to leave that little country and seek refuge elsewhere. So, the statement made by Miss McSwiney that Ireland would have helped Germany were it in her power to do so is not a statement of fact, and in justice to the Irish people, both in this country and in Ireland, the writer is prompted to make the above statement.

IN THE last issue of our Journal I advised you against purchasing any unnecessary articles for your home. Now, I am going to go further and ask you not to purchase things that seem absolutely necessary if you can possibly get along without them. There is going to be a general slashing of prices within the next few weeks, as the country is overstocked with manufactured articles. I believe that the retailers, who

are the principal offenders at this time, will have to lower their prices because the banks are tightening up on money, and with the large supplies which they have on hand they will be unable to pay their rents if they do not dispose of some of the surplus merchandise they have on hand. Therefore, do not spend a dollar unless you have to. There is already throughout the country some drop in prices, but nothing to compare with what they ought to be, and many of the cuts are not real. They can put a tag on a garment in a window and say that it was \$60 and is now marked down to \$45. The truth of the matter is, they could sell that same article for \$25 and still make a reasonable profit. We are on the very edge of hard times, and it is going to be much worse than it is now before it gets better.

Local unions should see to it that their moneys are deposited in safe banks. This is important, because the banking interests of the country, with the great demand for money at high rates of interest, are very liable to make loans that are not absolutely safe. Do not be discouraged, however, because all this will pass away, but it is my duty to advise you so that you can exercise the greatest care in the spending or depositing of your money. The Government has failed utterly to bring down prices, therefore we must bring down prices ourselves. It is an absolute crime to have retail coal distributors in the Boston district and other districts charging \$16 a ton for coal that was sold on June 1st for \$14. The increase in wages and other expenses was not more than 50 cents a ton, while the consumers are required to pay \$2 a ton more than they did four months previous. This is a clear case of highway robbery on the part of the coal dealers, and it is also the same with other men in business. Although sugar has dropped from 26 cents a pound to about 9 cents to wholesalers and manufacturers, the candy dealers are still charging \$1 a pound for candy, the same as they did when sugar was three times as high as it is now, and their expenses for labor are not what they were during the war. The shoe factories and clothing factories are shut down and their employes idle just because the people are refusing to buy. Keep up the good work, and you will find that you will bring down prices. Let us stabilize our wages if the employers are determined, for the present at least, that we will have to fight for a higher wage.

I WISH all of our members a happy and pleasant and prosperous New Year. Another year has passed away and we are again confronted with the question as to what will happen to us during the coming year. For the International Union the past year has been a most successful one. We held our convention, which was constructive and helpful. We made several important changes in our Constitution. Up to this writing there has been general approval by our local unions throughout the country of what was done by the convention. It is indeed surprising the splendid response that has been made, without any kind of grumbling by the local unions, to the increase in per capita tax. Especially have we received many letters of approval of the action of the convention in increasing the strike benefits from \$5 a week to \$10. Our membership has stood up splendidly during the year. Just now there is a slight falling off as a result of the unemployment prevailing everywhere. We have nothing to regret for anything that has happened during the past year. On the contrary, we have every reason to rejoice because of the splendid results obtained by our unions throughout the country. There is a material change in industrial conditions at the beginning of

this year. Almost everywhere there is fear of what is liable to happen to business during the coming year. Old, reliable concerns that have never known what it has been to be fearful or doubtful, are waiting anxiously from day to day as to whether or not they will be forced to close down the following week because of the fact that they cannot continue to operate. One year ago we would not have any trouble in going out and getting a substantial increase in wages. That is not the case just now. We must be very careful of every move we make, because in nearly all industrial centers there are three men looking for each job. Statements made the other day in Washington before a committee on immigration was that there are two million men out of employment in this country at the present time. I think that perhaps there are more than that, but with this condition prevailing and getting worse, our membership will understand that we must be very careful. Let no man leave his work at this time for any reason whatever except where the life of his organization is at stake, or where he cannot work and be a union man, and even then, before quitting your job, take the matter up with the International office. Everywhere the open-shop proposition is being presented to us, but eventually we will be successful in overcoming this unjust and unnecessary attempt on the part of the employers to stifle unions. Other international unions are meeting with still greater opposition than are we. This is perhaps due to the fact that in all the months of the war, when conditions were dangerous, the conservative, honest policy of our organization and its officers was such as to strengthen the confidence of the employers in our International Union. Our employers are not so bitter, except in a few cases where the local leadership was unreasonable and inclined to be radical. This does not, of course, mean that we have not with us unjust employers, who are always looking for an opportunity to try their strength against that of the unions, but, unfortunately, this is blindness on the part of the employer, because this wasted energy might be used in other directions, or to build up the business, and, after all, the good will of the men in the employment is worth a great deal more than their bitterness and resentment. This open-shop or American policy is nothing different from the campaigns that were made against us in years past. We were successful in overcoming all of those conflicts, and we will overcome this new one, even if unions in certain districts where they are weak go down some, for they surely will come to life again as soon as business starts to pick up. Fair dealing, square dealing for both the men and the employers is the best policy to pursue. Yes, we will hold our own during this coming year, and perhaps, at the end of the year 1921 we will be over this serious period which now confronts us, and our union will go on and build up in the few districts where we are not thoroughly organized. In the meantime let me impress upon every one of our members the necessity of paying strict attention to business. Do not let two or three hot-heads or radicals run your union. Get inside the hall and see that things are run as they should be—in your interest, and not against your interest. For the last year or two I repeatedly advised our unions to sign up agreements that would run for two or three years. Many of our unions did this, and how happy they are just now that they do not have an agreement expiring. However, except in isolated instances, we will have no serious conflicts with our employers. Whenever the union is not handled by loyal, conservative and honest-thinking individuals, we are bound to have some trouble. The value of a real, sincere, brainy, watchful officer to a union

at this time is such that it behooves every union to re-elect the old officers—the men they have confidence in. In closing, let me again wish you a prosperous, happy and successful New Year, and let me advise you to be ever watchful of your organization.

THE following is an agreement made and entered into in Washington by and between T. V. O'Connor, President of the International Longshoremen's Association, and the General President of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters and Chauffeurs. The same was submitted to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and approved by them. Wherever you find men properly covered by the jurisdiction of our International holding membership in the Longshoremen's Union kindly notify this office:

Agreement made and entered into by and between the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers and the International Longshoremen's Association, November 16, 1920.

The representatives of the above named organizations hereby agree:

First. That any teamsters, chauffeurs, etc., that are now holding membership in any local union of the International Longshoremen's Association shall be compelled by the Longshoremen's Association to sever their membership with that organization because they properly belong and come under the jurisdiction of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America, as per the charter rights granted to that organization by the American Federation of Labor.

Second. The International Longshoremen's Association shall not permit any individual driving team or automobile or an individual who properly comes under the jurisdiction of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters to become a member of the International Longshoremen's Association in the future.

Third. The International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers agrees that any persons now holding membership in their organization and properly coming under the jurisdiction of the Longshoremen's International Association shall be compelled to cease membership in the Brotherhood of Teamsters, because they properly belong and come under the jurisdiction of the Longshoremen's Association, as per the charter rights granted to that organization by the American Federation of Labor.

Fourth. The International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers shall not permit any individual driving team or automobile, or an individual who properly comes under the jurisdiction of the International Longshoremen's Association, to become a member of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers in the future.

Fifth. In cases where men work part of their time at each occupation, that is, at the occupation of driver or chauffeur, or at the occupation of longshoreman, it is hereby agreed that the individual shall belong to the organization at which he works fifty-one per cent. (51%) of his time.

DANIEL J. TOBIN,

President International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers.

T. V. O'CONNOR,

President International Longshoremen's Association.

CORRESPONDENCE



VANCOUVER, B. C.

Mr. D. J. Tobin, Indianapolis, Ind.:

Dear Sir and Brother—At the last regular meeting of Joint Council No. 36 I was instructed to drop you a few lines for insertion in the Journal. Owing to the province of British Columbia having voted wet, we are having a very large influx of men coming to Vancouver and Victoria, and we wish to utter a word of warning and advise all to stay away. There are at present over eight thousand men out of work here, and absolutely no prospect of any improvement this winter. Until the legislature brings in legislation covering government control of liquor, same cannot be obtained, so it is useless for these men to come with the idea that these cities are wide open, because they are not, and there is no prospect of that taking place in any event. We are always glad to have a visit from active workers, as the large companies are trying their best to put the unions out of business, but we are holding our own, but don't come here looking for work. Yours fraternally,

BIRT SHOWLER, Secretary.

PORTLAND, MAINE

Mr. D. J. Tobin, Indianapolis, Ind.:

Dear Sir and Brother—I presume some of the readers of the Journal are thinking and asking, Where is that guy Johnson of Local 418, way down east among the hayshakers? Well, let me say he's on the job for another year, thanks to the members of Local 418, and for a few weeks we have been shaking up our schedule, getting it into form, and have been preparing ourselves for the storm that no doubt

will come, as at this writing the Hotel and Restaurant Employes' Local are having a little skirmish, but hope they will win out, as all eyes are focused on them.

We held our election on December 16th with the following result: President, Frank Stilley; vice-president, Fred Maskell; secretary-treasurer, James A. Woods; recording secretary, Walter S. Johnson; trustees, James Bennett, Frank Flaherty, Gideon Hodgskins.

The attendance was 201 at the meeting. Of course, this was not our full membership, but it was a case of harmony in the ranks. The members elected gave some short speeches and of course the writer played the Mexican game, "shooting the bull." We are lining up the trenches, getting ready for the American Plan idea that was originated in Adam and Eve's day, but is still in working order in some localities.

We are affiliated with the Central Labor Union and we often get reports from the different organizers who visit the city of what's doing in other places. We provide for our sick members and also those that pass the River Jordan, but at the present time we have no dead ones, "so friends kindly omit flowers."

It's the intention of our members to launch a drive for new members soon, and when we do some one has got to sit up and take notice. We had a member enter our local from Local 162 of Portland, Ore. That's traveling some—coast to coast—so you see we are some drawing card. Now, brothers, have harmony in your locals, stand shoulder to shoulder, be pre-

pared to go over the top in the proper way; be sure to attend meetings. Prepare seems to be the watchword at present. So wishing the readers of the Journal a prosperous year, I am,

Yours fraternally,

W. S. JOHNSON,

Recording Secretary Local 418.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

Mr. D. J. Tobin, Indianapolis, Ind.:

Dear Sir and Brother—The Montreal convention directed the President to secure a wider distribution of the History, Encyclopedia and Reference Book of the American Federation of Labor. In order to carry out this purpose it is necessary for the officials of the national and international unions to aid in giving publicity to the work. Circulars have been printed to send to all local unions in America, urging that at least one copy be secured by each of them for the use of the organizations.

Those who have examined the work declare it to be the most complete and interesting publication ever issued by any labor movement in the world. Many questions arise in local unions that require much correspondence with national, international and American Federation of Labor officials. With a copy of the book in their possession the officials of unions could refer to it for decisions on most of the issues that might be raised.

New members of unions will find it invaluable in explaining to them the reasons for the attitude of the American Federation of Labor on all questions of importance to labor. It is an educator and will be as valuable as an official guide to those who desire absolutely correct information about labor as the dictionary is to those who need its guidance.

Permit me therefore to urge upon you the necessity of giving assistance for a more extensive

circulation of this work. Editorials in official journals will be helpful. Letters to affiliated local unions setting forth the necessity of each of them obtaining a copy of the book would also be of important aid.

If the officials of the national and international unions will kindly give their help in this most important matter there is no doubt but that the wish expressed by the convention will be fully carried out.

The expense involved in research, in gathering data, printing, binding, postage and expressage made it impossible to sell the book at a lower price than that set, \$2 per copy, postage prepaid.

Send check or money order to Frank Morrison, Secretary American Federation of Labor, A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.

Fraternally yours,

SAMUEL GOMPERS,

President American Federation of Labor.

Every local union should have a copy of this wonderful reference book in their possession.—Ed.

THE UNION LABEL

The battles of the union label are won without bloodshed. It is more powerful than strikes and picketing, and is a potent warning to tyrannical employers. It is puissant in the hands of women or children as the menacing declaration of a labor convention. It is the boycott without publication. No injunction can reach it, no militia or Pinkerton dare touch it, no pen will revile it, no pulpit assail it.

The world is getting better to the man who is doing something to make it better, and remaining the same or getting worse to the man who isn't.

There never was a good war or a bad peace.—Franklin.

You will notice on the inside page a letter from Mr. Gompers asking each local union to send \$2.00 to Frank Morrison, Secretary of the American Federation of Labor, A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C., for a book which has been published containing a history of the American Federation of Labor and a general history of the American Labor Movement. The book is well worth the price. Every local union should have one in its possession for reference.

All local unions having offices that desire a picture of the Executive Council may obtain same by writing to Frank Morrison, Secretary, American Federation of Labor Building, Washington, D. C., sending money order for \$1.00.

Things look pretty bad for some of the labor men in New York, resulting from the investigation, but we should remember that no man is guilty until proven guilty. Therefore, we advise our membership not to condemn any of the labor men in New York or elsewhere until they are proven guilty by a fair trial, no matter how bad the situation looks at the present time.

Every now and then we hear it said that a certain person, or persons, control a certain situation or district. This is a mistake. There are no one or two individuals who control the Labor Movement. Many men have attempted to do so, but have utterly failed. Men may be elected to office today, and may be defeated or pass away within a year. Many who believed that they had great power in the movement were, in a short time, entirely forgotten. The Labor Movement will live and prosper, numerically and otherwise, long after all the men who are now leaders have passed away. It is true we are here to do our duty, and those of us who fail to do it will remain but a very short time. Those who do their duty and serve the membership faithfully are very seldom removed from office by the rank and file. There are no more loyal followers or friends to any one in whom they have confidence and in whom they believe than the workers.

We have received a letter from Local Union No. 600, Truck Drivers of St. Louis, in which they state that they have given trial to three members of their local union who agitated and were responsible for calling an unlawful strike against a concern that has a signed agreement with the local union. As a result of the evidence presented the men were unanimously expelled by the executive board of the local. The Editor might add that, although the sentence seems severe, it is just and fair. There is no punishment too great for any man who agitates discontent and trouble within the employment of any concern and who deliberately and wilfully encourages a number of men to violate their agreement and go out on strike. Such individuals should be punished and put out of the organization. We congratulate Local No. 600 on the determined stand they have taken, and we want to assure them that if this action would be taken by other local unions they would soon get rid of the bad element, who have no respect for law and order, that they have within their unions. The International will stand behind any other organization taking similar action, and we pledge our support to local unions that are endeavoring to uphold and maintain the contracts that they have faithfully entered into with their employers.

Official Magazine
of the
**International Brotherhood
of Teamsters, Chauffeurs
Stablemen and Helpers
of America**

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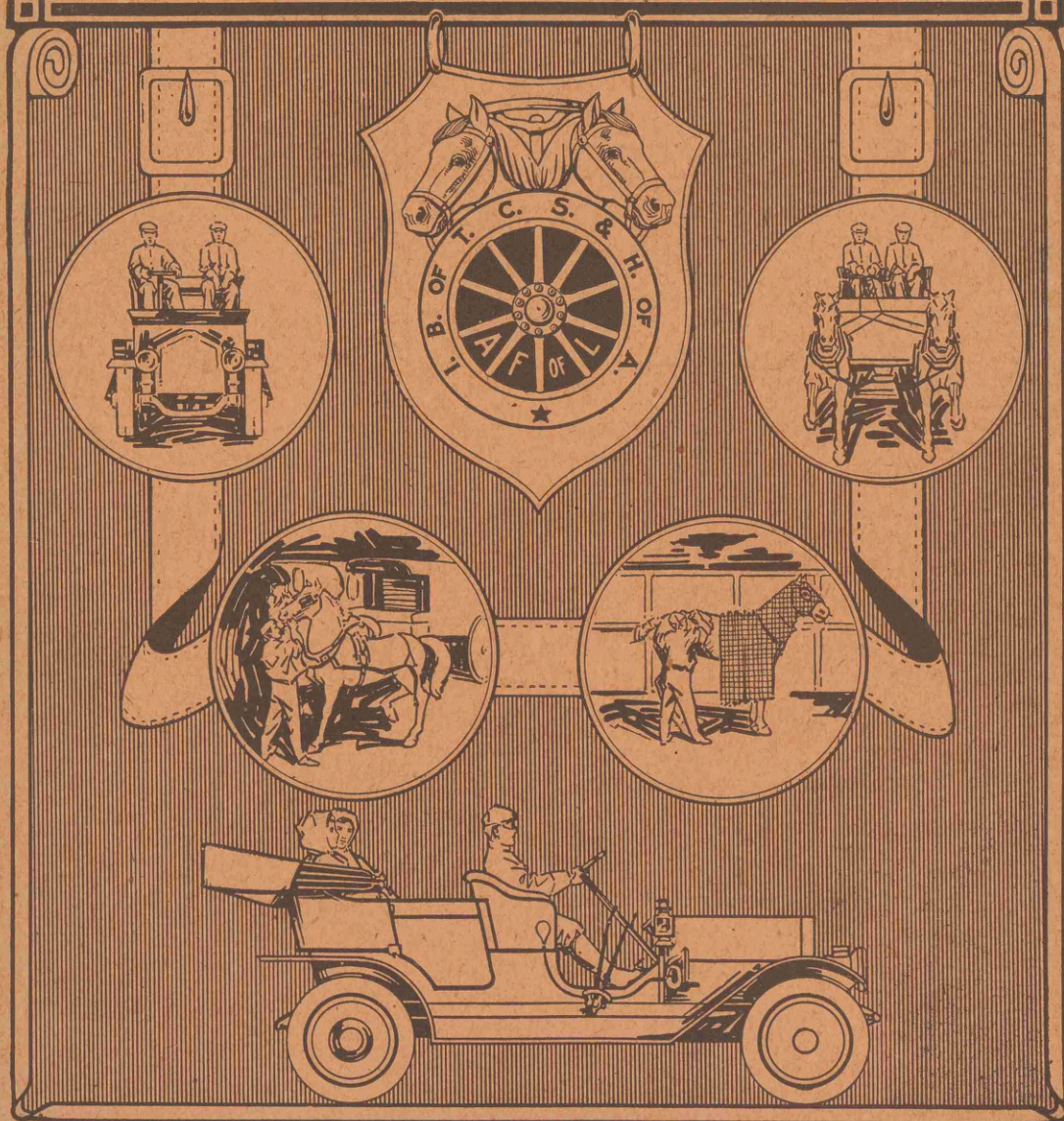
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222 East Michigan Street

Indianapolis, Indiana

We Do Not Accept or Publish Advertisements of Any Description
FEBRUARY, 1921

OFFICIAL MAGAZINE INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD TEAMSTERS • CHAUFFEURS STABLEMEN AND HELPERS OF AMERICA



I noticed while attending a meeting of Local No. 25, Truck Drivers of Boston, a few days ago that the membership understand the serious problem confronting the team owners of the country and by their action in deciding to work under the old wage scale for one year proved that they were capable of looking at both sides of the situation. Only the fool employers who do not understand the dangers confronting our country insist on the "open shop" or "American Plan." Those employers are very few. The average real American employer, who is wide awake thoroughly understands that the American Federation of Labor is the bulwark and strength that stands for real American trade unionism as against anarchy and revolution.

Every local union affiliated with the International has a right to run its own affairs. Visiting members of other local unions have no right to interfere. The salaried officers of the International are at all times empowered, by virtue of their office, to instruct, assist and order local unions to do certain things, when they deem it advisable and necessary. An election in a local union cannot be made unanimous while there is a man on the floor of the local union who desires to nominate another paid-up member for any office in the local. Where any candidate has opposition; that is, where there are two candidates running for the same position, the election should be by secret ballot.

When men are out of work it is pretty nearly impossible to expect them to pay dues, still, they owe the union just the same as when they are working, and the union cannot lawfully make a rule eliminating the dues of any individual because he is out of work. Some unions have a habit of giving free dues to their officers. This is illegal and unlawful. If a local union desires to pay its officers a certain amount of money, equal to the amount of their dues for one year, the local should give to each officer a check covering the amount of his dues, and he in turn should pay it into the local union for his dues. The International demands that each member in good standing pay his dues each month, and per capita tax must be paid to the International on each member in good standing.

OFFICIAL MAGAZINE INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF TEAMSTERS CHAUFFEURS STABLEMEN AND HELPERS.



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THE "OPEN SHOP"



HEN William H. Barr, President of the National Founders' Association, describes the progress of the open shop campaign as a "stimu-

lant to the patriotism of every one," he is dealing in snivelling hypocrisy at a time when honesty and frankness in all economic matters were never more necessary.

The champions of the open shop are not actuated by any patriotic impulse whatever. They believe that the open shop is more profitable to themselves than the closed shop and that to destroy the unions would put more money in their pockets. That is all there is to the controversy. The open shop advocates wear a mask of patriotism because they are afraid to meet the economic issue.

A nation-wide campaign has been inaugurated against organized labor. The plans were all laid during the presidential contest, and the Harding majority was interpreted as evidence that public opinion has swung wholly to the side of reaction. Associations of manufacturers and their professional walking delegates have been boasting that the Harding administration would be an open shop administration, and, curiously enough, union labor helped to furnish the votes that provided the Harding majority.

As a matter of principle, there

is much to be said in favor of the open shop, but we should prefer to have it come from the non-union men themselves. The organized employer advocates of the open shop are not concerned at all with principle, however vociferously they profess to be. What they want is a labor market in which they can dictate wages, hours of employment and working conditions, regardless of the social consequence of such economic tyranny. They want to treat labor as part of the raw materials of their factories, to be bought at their own price and used as they see fit. That is all there is to the organized campaign in behalf of the open shop, which increases in confidence as industrial conditions become more unsettled.

The attitude of its advocates is well illustrated by further remarks of the President of the National Founders' Association when he demanded the "complete elimination" of the labor clauses from the covenant of the League of Nations. As it happens, these clauses are not part of the covenant; they are part of the treaty of peace, and they represent the most enlightened thought of the world in regard to the international relations of labor. Nothing could better define the real aims of the open shop propaganda than its avowed antagonism to the labor section of the Treaty of Versailles.

An organized and well-defined open shop campaign can create a great deal of industrial trouble in the United States and add immeasurably to the difficulties of reconstruction, but it will never succeed except by wrecking the industrial fabric of the country, because there is no real honesty and sincerity back of it. There is nothing back of it but greed and sordidness, and in the long run greed and sordidness cannot dictate the economic policies of the American people.—New York World.

LIVING WAGE FIRST

A decent living for wage earners and not interest for stockholders should be the first consideration of industry, says Rev. John A. Ryan, D. D., in his pamphlet, "Capital and Labor." The writer is director of the social action department of the national Catholic welfare council.

"The stockholders," says Dr. Ryan, "have other means of livelihood than their interest-income—they have their capacity to work. If the workers are compelled to accept less than living wages in order that the stockholders may obtain the normal rate of interest, the elementary needs of the former, their need of food, clothing and shelter, will be accounted less important than the desires of the stockholders to enjoy life's luxuries and superfluities. Therefore, justice requires that the owner of capital should not receive interest until all the workers have obtained remuneration equivalent to a decent livelihood."

In discussing surplus profits, Dr. Ryan says labor should be preferred, "for it is impossible to prove that the capitalist, merely as a capitalist, even has a strict right to interest in excess of the prevailing rate. Probably the ideal plan, from the viewpoint of both equity and efficiency, would be to distribute the whole surplus among all who perform labor of any sort in the operation of the concern, whether they are or are not at the same time stockholders."

FORD ADMITS GOUGING HAS REDUCED PRICES

Detroit, Mich.—Henry Ford admits profiteering by business men in his announcement that prices for his autos will be reduced to pre-war levels and that wages will not be reduced.

While business men are claiming that "the high cost of labor is re-

sponsible for present prices," the "jitney" manufacturer rejects this claim in the following statement:

"There is a lull in general business; we are touched by the waiting period that always precedes a reaction; people in every walk of life are waiting for prices to become lower. They realize that it is an unwholesome, unnatural, unrighteous condition produced by the war. In every line of activity there is growing idleness because the demand is not there.

"Raw materials are being stored; manufactured goods are being stored because the volume of consumption is growing less through the self-denial of the people, many of whom could not afford to pay the high prices; others who would not pay the high prices because they felt the injustice of the situation. Manufacturing plants are being shut down all over the country. Labor is being thrown out of employment, yet the cost of living has seen very little reduction.

"Our country is rich beyond measure in natural resources, rich in all material things that go to make a great nation, and yet its progress is being held virtually at a standstill because of the greed of the profiteers.

"Now is the time to call a halt on war methods, war prices, war profiteering and war greed. It may be necessary for everybody to stand a little sacrifice, but it will be most profitable after all, because the sooner we get the business of the country back to a pre-war condition, and the lives of our people become more natural, progress, prosperity and contentment will occupy the attention of the people."—A. F. of L. News Letter.

That people won't learn from the experience of others is proved by the fact that every now and then some new prophet bobs up and sets a date for the end of the world.

UNION LABEL TRADES DEPARTMENT OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

October, 1920.

Dear Sir and Brother:—The "Open Shoppers" as represented by the National Chamber of Commerce, through a referendum vote taken by that organization, have served notice on the Trade Union Movement that they are opposed to and intend to destroy all forms of industrial democracy as represented by the trade agreement.

This challenge to the exercise of fundamental rights can not be ignored by the workers, and the best way to meet it is by a concerted and united movement where each union in affiliation to the American Federation of Labor can use its purchasing power to help every other union.

The organized workers of this country receive more than \$5,000,000,000 each year in wages, and despite the fact that this vast amount of money comes to us through organized effort, a large portion of it is spent for the commodities made and sold by our avowed enemies, thus giving them financial aid to continue their hostility to us.

All this must be changed and every Trades Unionist must learn that the most effective way to hit back at our enemies is through their pockets. This can be done very easily when we confine our purchases to **Union Labeled Goods** only from stores and shops where **Shop Cards** or **Working Buttons** are used.

The Union Label, Shop Card and Working Button are the hall marks of industrial freedom and democracy. Given the support which is justly theirs, there is no more potent weapon that can be utilized to maintain and improve the social

and economic standards of the workers.

Join the ranks of the live ones! Line up and be counted with all real Trades Unionists who refuse to spend money earned under union conditions for anything not made or sold under union conditions.

Be true to yourself and your brother unionist by giving preference to the Union Label, Shop Card and Working Button of his craft, and at the same time deal an effective blow at the pocket book of those who are seeking to destroy your working conditions and the union through which they were secured.

With best wishes, I am,
Fraternally, yours,
John J. Manning,
Sec-Treas. Union Label Trades
Department.

CLERGYMAN PREDICTS ECONOMIC CHANGE

"The triple alliance of winter, industrial depression and unemployment may bring temporary success to the campaign for the 'open shop,'" said the Rev. Jones I. J. Corrigan, S. J., in his address to 1,100 masters, submasters and teachers of Greater Boston in the Boston College High School building on James street recently, "but the counter-offensive of the radical forces will sweep away the last vestiges of industrial peace and bring about far-reaching economic changes that may not be entirely to the liking of our financial and industrial interests."

Said the Boston college professor: "The third party movement has a vital significance for American life that will become even more and more apparent after the election than it is today. Our present economic life is in process of flux. Reactionary forces are striving to restrain it within the old molds and forms, but it were as well to try to put back Niagara."

Referring to what he called the "campaign for the open shop," Father Corrigan said: "Capital's declaration of war upon labor under the pretext of a campaign for the open shop has come at a most unfortunate time and will have disastrous consequences unless checked at once. The general staff of capital, which ordered the offensive, could have aimed no more fatal blow at the industrial prosperity and peace of America. Conservative employers may yet prevent the evil consequences by countermanding the move."

TRADE UNION PHILOSOPHY WELL EXPRESSED BY BAKERS

In their report to the convention of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union, the executives of this organization present this fine statement on trade union philosophy:

"The trade union movement can not set any hard and fast lines for itself. It has to reckon with the workers as they are and not as it would wish them to be. The growth and expansion of the trade union movement are apace with the growth and advancement of the wage workers themselves, and the co-operation of the wage workers in a given industry must come through a natural, orderly and well-defined course as a result of necessity and experience.

"Any propaganda aiming at the destruction of a movement which has taken generations to build up is fallacious, injurious and reactionary.

"We do not venture to say the A. F. of L. represents the finality in the evolution of unionism—no more so than anything else in the course of human progress ever represents a finality—but we do maintain that through the trade union movement, properly conducted, we

can secure the complete fulfillment of our desires and aspirations."—
News Letter.

TRUTH IS BEST REPLY TO FANTASTIC PLANS

The A. F. of L. convention has approved recommendations of the executive council that the truth about democracy, and not a denial of democracy, is the best reply to fantastic plans of extreme propagandists.

"The written and spoken propaganda of unreason and extremists can be met and defeated by truth," the council said. "But legitimate unrest, growing out of conditions of injustice can be met and overcome only by intelligent dealing with conditions. Those who drink from a poisoned well will be poisoned until the well itself is cleaned.

"The American nation has reached a grave crisis. It stands at the cross roads. Progress must come. Justice must be done. Bourbonism must be dethroned. Criminal profiteering and exploitation must cease. These things are so because the endurance of the people has been strained beyond their willingness to bear and because all of these things are possible of achievement.

"The terrible pressure of injustice within democracy can be removed only by the functioning of democracy. And if the forces of greed so obstruct and distort the processes of democracy that they can no longer work in normal, healthful manner to satisfy the needs of the people, it is the first duty of the nation to free those processes and remove those obstructions. The unrest born of need can be met and allayed only through definite, constructive action. The program for this action has been offered by the labor movement, and is before the country."—
Granite Cutters.

THE MOVEMENT THAT NEVER DIES

After all, the labor movement is a wonderful thing. It is something to be proud of. It is something that lives all the time. It has soul and spirit, and because of that it can never die.

It is a movement that is fired with the grandest social ideas of the race, demanding for millions of men, women and children the right to economic and political independence, a lofty citizenship, and a higher civilization.

It is a movement that is as broad as humanity itself, because it makes for a more virtuous and intelligent manhood and womanhood. And what I like best about it is the fact that it takes the humblest worker from his toil and stands him before the world the equal of every man.

Traitors and their henchmen have assailed it in the past. But it has stood firm in every assault made against it. And be sure that, though it be attacked over and over again, it will continue to stand erect and four-square against every enemy scheming to bring about its downfall.

It is impossible to kill the labor movement, because it is a religion that is deep-rooted in every life of man on this planet. And even were it rent into pieces, and scattered broadcast, it would still continue to gather force and go on and on down the corridor of time, lighting the trail that the world's masses may follow in its wake.

True it is that the labor movement has had its setbacks. But every movement having for its purpose the advancement of the cause of humanity is halted now and again. And temporary defeats are not always without their compensations, since they enable us to better realize our shortcomings and set about correcting them.

This prompts me to say—paradoxical though it may seem—that labor never loses, but has ever the ultimate victory. For, after all, immediate victories or defeats count little in the order of things; and whether they do or not, this one fact stands out unchallenged: the labor movement goes on winning, winning—in sunshine and in rain, in storm and in calm—all along the line.

That is why I and other workers in the labor cause are never discouraged. That is why, when we are temporarily worsted in the one contest, we lick our wounds, take stock of our position, remedy our shortcomings, and come up smiling for the next assault.

For we know that however much our enemies may assail the labor movement, however much its traitors may try to stab it in the back, it will continue to function for the good of humanity, because it is a living movement, possessing both soul and spirit, and as such can never die.—Shoe Workers.

MORAL COURAGE NEEDED

One of the conspicuous qualities necessary to successful work in the sphere of labor organizations is that of moral courage. It is the distinguishing mark of real manhood or womanhood. Without it no human being is really free; without it no individual commands respect. The disappointments incident to human effort, the heart aches and the losses are usually attributable to the lack of this admirable trait on the part of those who fail in their undertakings. What is it that distinguishes the successful from the unsuccessful? Why is it that so many working people are content to plod on in their daily routine of poorly rewarded physical effort, while others, with no more real ability, pass on and excel in the struggle for existence, achieving and winning,

where the larger number seem content to serve and to barely exist? The question may be answered briefly by calling attention to the fact, apparent in all close observers, that relatively few possess the courage of their convictions and are willing to risk failure by putting their convictions to the test. "He either fears his fate too much or his deserts are small, who fears to put it to the test and win or lose it all," was written by a poet who understood frail human nature. Organized labor needs development of and exercise of moral courage. Then will it come into its own, and not before.

"PUBLIC CONVENIENCE" OVERLOOKED

Federal Judge Mayer has granted the request of the receiver of the Brooklyn Rapid Transit Company that operation of nine lines of that system be indefinitely suspended because they are losing money.

The public service commissioner ordered the receiver to operate the lines for the public convenience. This order has been set aside by the court.

Trade unionists call attention to the federal court's oversight of "the public's convenience," a stock phrase when workers say they are losing money and possibly tie up the street car system that wage increases may be granted. In that case injunctions, police and strike breakers are forthcoming.

In the present case the public is given less consideration than in strike times, for no attempt is made to operate the cars. The corporation makes a complete tie-up by suspending operations, because it says it is losing money.

The local press treats the affair as "a business proposition," and all hands from the court down, forget their strike-time war cry.—Clerks' Advocate.

EDITORIAL

(By Daniel J. Tobin)

THE Executive Board of our International Union strongly appeals to the membership of our organization to exercise the utmost care during this period of trial which is now confronting the Labor Movement. They insist that our local unions exercise the greatest care in the drafting and presenting of wage scales and that they try to settle with their employers without having any misunderstanding. Above all, remain at work, those of you who are working. Times are bad. Much worse than the average individual understands. The nation is now in the midst of a serious industrial crisis. It necessitates the utmost care to save the great industrial institutions of our country from absolute collapse. Never in the history of the country were we confronted with such a general industrial depression. In all of the large cities there are hundreds of our men out of employment. Other industries are completely shut down. Old established plants that have been running for years without interruption have been forced to close their doors. Even the great financial automobile king, Henry Ford, for the first time in the history of his plant, has been forced to close down. The newspapers say that there are thousands of men out of employment in Detroit. In New York City there are perhaps half a million unemployed. Everywhere and anywhere one goes they find everything closed down. No one can say when conditions will improve. Employers who are trying to run their business cannot get the banks to advance them money with which to meet their pay rolls. The banks, in turn, are charging enormous rates for the money that they sell or loan. After the November election the people all expected prosperity, but there is no prosperity in sight. Some are hoping that after March 4th something will happen, but I am of the opinion that conditions will not be much improved. We are entering a period of depression that is liable to last for a year or two. It may improve somewhat during the summer, but next winter conditions will be just as bad as they are today. There is one industry in which men might be employed—the building industry; but those who may put up large buildings or small buildings are fearful of investing the money they have, not knowing how things are going to turn out. Undoubtedly the question that presents itself to the average man is, where has all of our money gone? Why is it that money is so scarce? The answer is this: That the countries in Europe that owe us hundreds of millions of dollars borrowed from us during the war, money that we expected would be flowing back by this time, is not coming back. Some of those countries are unable to pay even the interest on their loan. Private banking concerns, like J. P. Morgan Company, have loaned hundreds of millions of dollars to Europe. Russia owes us large amounts borrowed from us before the revolution, and it is doubtful whether we will ever get one dollar of it back. Other countries, like Italy, owe us large sums of money and we cannot get it back. The American Bankers' Association, in convention recently in Washington, realizing that there was danger of losing a great deal of the money that we loaned to Europe during the war, decided that the only way in which they could get their money back was to help in the reconstruction movement over there, or put the industries of Europe back on their feet again. They,

therefore, decided to form a pool of one hundred million dollars and loan this amount to the European countries. This is a matter of record, appearing in the daily papers. Now you can understand, one hundred million dollars of American money taken out of this country and sent to Europe, is taken away from American business, where it was needed, and given to Europe. If we add this one hundred million to the other hundreds of millions owing us at this time, you can realize that if we had all that money in this country we could keep on manufacturing and selling our products, thereby keeping the wheels of industry turning. But the cold-blooded bankers do not care. All they want is to make every dollar earn another dollar. In so far as patriotism is concerned, China or Japan is just as dear to them, if they can make a better deal for a loan there, than they could with some American industrial concern. We have upward of three million men and women out of employment in our country today, perhaps more, yet the flood of immigrants is daily increasing. There are thousands of immigrants coming, rushing here as fast as they can in order to get here before any restriction is placed on immigration. It is a crime to be bringing those people to this country, because there is no room for them, no work for them, no place for them to live with their families except in undesirable tenements or shacks. We neglected our house building during the war and we are now short one million homes. Add to this the unemployment and the fact that there are myriads of immigrants coming from Europe who cannot find any work or a proper place in which to live and you will be able to realize that conditions will be much worse in the near future; yet we have large employers' associations represented in Washington endeavoring to destroy the present immigration bill that has been passed by Congress and is awaiting the action of the Senate. Those wealthy employers thus represented care nothing of what is going to become of the country so long as they can find ten men waiting for each job. But there is a limit to everything. This condition cannot continue too long without a clash of some kind coming. Let us hope, with all the strength within us, that conditions will improve; that the immigration bill will be passed by the Senate, and that we will at least keep the flood of innocent, but ignorant, people from coming to this country, thereby not making the situation worse than it is at the present time. Write your Senator and ask him to give this serious problem consideration and ask him to vote for the immigration bill.

A GREAT wave of crime is now sweeping over our country and is of such a nature that it compels even the most careless individual to sit up and think. It seems as though our laws, our civil institutions, our society, yes, our civilization, as we understand it, are breaking down completely. When four or five murders are committed in one week and twenty holdups of the most daring type, involving thousands of dollars, when such happen in one city, or in several cities, and no one is brought to account for them, no one is brought before the bars of justice, why, there is only one conclusion to be reached, and that is, that our government, our civilization, is breaking down. Today no man in any city in our country is safe if he is suspected of having a small or large amount of money. Those guilty of holdups do not hesitate to commit murder and, instead of our national government directing its attention to this situation, it is trying to legislate out of existence the legitimate body of trade unionists. We may ask the question, what is

the cause of all this crime? My judgment is that it is a condition resulting from two causes—one the war and the other idleness, unemployment. During the war we trained, to kill, almost three and a half million men. We sent nearly two million of those men to England and France. There were one million men in the trenches. Hundreds of thousands of them were, day after day, filled with the doctrine of killing; filled with the desire, or necessity, of killing other human beings. Men stood in trenches knee deep in mud with rifles in their hands, expecting to be killed at any moment and, if not killed themselves, expecting to kill others. If not shot down while going over the top when the order came, they were gassed, or poisoned, or exterminated by one of the several other life-destroying processes used in the war.

They lived but for the moment. Human life to the average young American engaged in that conflict meant nothing more than the life of a passing fly in summer. Then the war ended and those men were brought back home and demobilized. After two or three years' driving into their minds the necessity of killing, almost brutalizing them, making them inhuman, they could not be changed in a day, or they could not be brought back to where they were before the war. We may have reclaimed 50 or 60 per cent. of them, but 30 or 40 per cent. of those men have returned with minds that are not normal, who are filled with the lust for blood, with a desire for killing and many of them are roaming around in our large cities, and today, when they cannot find employment, they do not hesitate to go out and hold up the fellow they believe has some money. If they risked their lives going over the top they surely can take a chance of sticking a gun up against a man and demanding that he give them what he has; of going into a bank and stealing ten or fifteen thousand dollars from civilians who are unarmed and who were never trained to kill. Those men are not going to go hungry. There is a certain excitement even about highway robbery and those men engaged at it, for the time being, enjoy it. They never believe they are going to be caught, or killed, and they go on daring and still further daring day after day. This, in my judgment, is the cause of the great crime wave that we are passing through at the present time. Some of those men are to be pitied, because their nerves were shattered during the war. This same crime wave exists in every country in the world, but in some countries crime is detected and punished more readily than in our country. I read in the papers that there have been more murders in Berlin in one month within the last year than there was in that city in five years before the war.

The question that now confronts us is, what is the solution? How are we going to change this condition? It is a pretty hard question to answer. All of us may have some cure—some suggestion. I think that as soon as we eliminate the enormous unemployment, the crime wave will recede. Idleness always creates poverty, and poverty begets crime. The man who sees his family, the ones he loves, suffering and in want, is more liable to commit crime than the man who is employed and able to provide for his children. Again, our authorities, or those who have the enforcement of the law, in many instances are not competent. They are appointed to office because of political influence. The plums are divided because of assistance rendered during the election. This is true of the highest office down to the smallest. Inefficiency, cheap grafting, everyone trying to make all they can while they are in the job. Nowadays qualifications for office are seldom considered. It is not the style. The question is, how many votes does he control, or

can he deliver? We must get back to the times when men were appointed to office, promoted in office, because of the ability of the individuals. A hundred men may be on strike in a large industrial center—honest men, God-fearing men, citizens who have never done wrong, yet the whole force of the law, with all of the fangs and claws of its police forces, yes, all the elements established to maintain law and order are immediately brought to bear upon the men who are out on strike trying to better their conditions. They are driven away, beaten up, slugged by the police officers, and the courts and superiors wink at the actions of their uniformed sluggers; and, while they are doing this, a few hundred yards away two or three gunmen are breaking into the banks, they shoot down the cashier and get away with the money in the institution. The poor striker, on the other hand, is taken into court and given perhaps ninety days in prison, while the murderers and burglars are not molested. This is a true picture of modern society in the large cities of our country. This can easily be changed by getting back to the old days when the big criminals were followed up, captured and punished, and the honest men who were striving to make the world brighter and better for themselves and their families were protected by the legal institutions of the nation.

YOU cannot maintain your power in a local union by strong-arm tactics. The government of our country cannot be run by guns and clubs. The Labor Movement of the country cannot be legislated out of existence by adverse decisions of the Supreme Court. The confidence of the masses of those who trust you cannot be held unless you are on the level, on the square with them. You cannot come to the top by double-crossing your friends. He who seeks position at the expense of destroying the character of others, never gets anywhere. The interpretation placed on the Clayton Act by the United States Supreme Court will not set unions back one iota. It will have this tendency, that such a decision will weaken the confidence of the masses of toilers in the United States Supreme Court. As citizens, we are bound to respect such decisions, but we cannot be prevented from thinking as we please. Three of the United States Supreme Court Judges dissented from the decision, but a majority carried, and the decision became legal, and it practically destroys the Clayton law. However, Labor is not going to sit down and weep or beg for mercy. Labor is going to keep on organizing and still organizing and making itself stronger. Labor will await its opportunity. Perhaps the time will come when Labor shall insist that the members of the Supreme Court of the United States, who are now appointed, that they shall be elected. The Constitution of the United States has been amended in recent years. It can be amended again, and it may be made to read that the members of the Supreme Court shall be elected by the people, and when this happens we may be able to get decisions interpreting the law, as the law was intended when enacted. In all of the years that Labor has been struggling for justice and right, have any of you ever known of a decision, a clean-cut, out-and-out decision of the Supreme Court that was favorable to Labor? If you know of such a decision I wish you would write the Editor, because never within my memory has the Supreme Court, in a case between Capital and Labor, between wealth and the sweat and blood of the workers, ever rendered a decision except that which was favorable to Wealth and Capital.

MISCELLANY



CIVILIZATION

Civilization has been shaken to its foundations; century-old governments have collapsed; ancient institutions are passing; nations have been born; a new world with new ideas and new forms of government is in the making. Time alone will reconcile the losers to their loss and teach us how to use to full advantage the larger opportunities and broader freedom born of the great change. We mourn the countless dead that sleep beneath the sod of the devastated lands of Europe, victims of the vile ambitions of rulers and the greed of financiers and traders; we are discouraged that so stupendous a tragedy should have been necessary to break the fetters that held the world in bondage.

But for the material loss—the energy spent and the materials wasted in warfare, the ships and cargoes destroyed, roads and buildings demolished, mines crippled, lands laid waste—we need not greatly grieve. Still less need we be anxious over the tremendous debts contracted by the warring nations. These do not make the world a jot the poorer. They are simply pen-and-ink transactions and records that give to the wealthy few the power to levy tribute on the earnings of the many for generations yet unborn—provided the workers continue to be content to be the burden-bearers of the ages. Happily they are awakening to the injustice and folly of this ancient usage and are determined to shift the burden to the shoulders of those who in the past have escaped responsibility. Adequate taxes on large incomes and excessive profits, inheritance taxes that will cause

vast and unholy accumulations of wealth to revert to the people, a flat levy upon surplus capital that simply absorbs much of the earnings in industry, will speedily liquidate these intangible burdens.

The earth and the fullness thereof are still ours to possess; sunshine, rain and the fertile soil remain; seed time and harvest follow in succession; the strength of the good right arm and the skill of the hands of the workers have not departed. The things of value that have been destroyed will be replaced, and out of the bitter experience we shall learn how to produce more abundantly and to distribute more equitably, so that none shall lack anything needful to a richer and fuller life.—Brewery Workers.

THE DESERTER

History depicts no creature more contemptible than the deserter. As an example of craven cowardice he stands alone.

All nations of the world declare that the man who deserts under fire is not fit to live and commune with his fellow-countrymen, and the firing squad at sunrise mercifully ends an existence that is unfit to contaminate the earth.

Labor unions do not use the firing squad to the end that the life of the deserter is demanded, but we do brand with the mark of shame and infamy those who betray our cause by desertion.

The man or woman who deserts their regular organization, whether in time of strike or to form a dual destructive organization, deserves the contempt and enmity of every decent member of society.

Deserters are welcomed by the

boss and used for the present only. He is neither loved nor is he a hero. The employer knows that he is a deserter from his own ranks and is therefore a creature void of dependence and wholly untrustworthy.

The deserter not only helps to destroy his own army on the industrial field, but he destroys his own economic life as well. He willingly, because of his cowardly, inhuman attitude, destroys the conditions under which he and his fellow workers have a degree of independence. He would throw the entire trade into a position of absolute chaos and would leave all who toil at the mercy of the employer's greed.

BANKERS SHOULD NOT CONTROL CREDIT

Credit is the life blood of modern business. At present, under the control of private financiers it is administered, not primarily to serve the needs of production, but the desire of financial agencies to levy a toll upon community activity as high as "the traffic will bear."

Credit is inherently social. It should be accorded in proportion to confidence in production possibilities. Credit as now administered does not serve industry but burdens it. It increases unearned incomes at the expense of earned incomes. It is the center of the malevolent forces that corrupt the spirit and purpose of industry.

We urge the organization and use of credit to serve production needs and not to increase the incomes and holdings of financiers. Control over credit should be taken from financiers and should be vested in a public agency, able to administer this power as a public trust in the interests of all the people.—Declaration by conference of trade union executives, at Washington, December 13, 1919.

HOW ABOUT "HIGH" WAGES?

Eldridge R. Johnson, president of the Victor Talking Machine Company, discusses present prices in a Philadelphia newspaper, and seems to have overlooked "high" wages as the cause for present conditions.

While learned editors and wise statesmen are blaming workers, Mr. Johnson said:

"The lumber people forced the price so high that contractors stopped building. When there was no longer a demand for the big output of lumber, prices began to fall.

"The same applies to the automobile industry, although these manufacturers did not raise their prices as high as some of the others. Today the prices are dropping. And the same thing may be said about the shoe factories and leather industry. The people are not buying because they expect the prices to go lower yet. When prices reach a normal basis, then the people will begin buying."

FACTS ABOUT PRODUCTION IN AMERICA

A public speaker recently pointed out that, while the United States has only six per cent. of the population of the world and only seven per cent. of land, it produces:

Sixty per cent. of the world's supply of copper.

Forty per cent. of the world's supply of lead.

Fifty per cent. of the world's supply of zinc.

Sixty per cent. of the world's supply of aluminum.

Sixty per cent. of the world's supply of oil.

Seventy-five per cent. of the world's supply of corn.

Sixty per cent. of the world's supply of cotton.

Forty per cent. of the world's supply of silver.

Forty-two per cent. of the world's supply of coal.

Forty per cent. of the world's supply of iron and steel.

Twenty per cent. of the world's supply of gold.

Eighty-five per cent. of the world's supply of automobiles.

Twenty-five per cent. of the world's supply of wheat, and refines eighty per cent. of the copper, and operates forty per cent. of the world's railroads.

While paying its wage workers less than twenty per cent. of the value of the wealth they create.
—Exchange.

LABOR'S PRINCIPLE

We believe it pays to have a principle and stick to it. We of organized labor have one. We believe in organization and co-operation. We believe that an injury to one is an injury to all. Sometimes we make mistakes in trying to correct that injury, but the individual or organization that never makes mistakes is a dead one. The people in the cemetery make no mistakes. We believe in organizing and collective bargaining between employer and employe and establishing a wage scale of sufficient remuneration so that the standards of living will advance rather than go back. We also believe it is our right and privilege to say who we will work with. If a man wants to remain a non-union man, we have the right to refuse to work with him. We believe in union conditions. We do not believe in the open shop. The open shop is open to only one kind of workman and that is the non-union man. In the open shop if a union man is foolish enough to seek work there and they have the opportunity, he is always discriminated against. We reiterate the oft-repeated statement that the majority of skilled workmen are in the union of their craft. —National Labor Journal (Pittsburgh).

JUDGE FAVORS CAUTION

Circuit Court Judge Hunt of Detroit, Mich., does not favor using the injunction writ indiscriminately and has refused to issue one of these orders on "suspicion."

Employing barbers asked for an injunction against the barbers' union and the court said:

"There must be an allegation of personal knowledge of the fact, or in the absence of that, certain other proof must be shown from which it must be a compelling inference that such fact exists."

The court gives notice that if employers want him to usurp the functions of the law-making body and sentence workers to jail without a trial by jury, they must present something tangible.

Ex-Federal Judge Taft has taken this position on numerous occasions. He insists that the indiscriminate use of the labor injunction destroys its usefulness.

HIGH SCHOOLS INCREASE

In a pamphlet on high schools in this country, issued by the Federal Bureau of Education, it is stated that the total number of these schools that made reports in 1917 and 1918 was 13,951. The mailing list of the bureau includes the names of 16,300 high schools. It is stated that the number of these schools has increased over 452 per cent. since 1890. This means that one high school has been established in this country each day in each calendar year since 1890—a high school a day for 28 years.

In 1890 only 60.8 per cent. of the high schools were under public control, but in 1918 the public controlled high schools were 87 per cent. of the whole.

The average size of a city high school is 653 students, and a rural school, 59 students.

In 1890 only 3.2 persons in each 1,000 population were enrolled in public high schools. In 1918 the

corresponding number was 15.6, or almost five times as great a proportion. California leads in high school education with 27 persons out of 1,000 in the population. Kansas is a close second, with South Carolina at the bottom of the list with 5.3 persons.

The District of Columbia has the largest public school libraries, followed by California and New York. Maine has the smallest libraries, with Delaware just above it.

HARMFUL IDEAS

One of the ideas that curse our society and destroy our happiness is, that in order to be successful we have got to find some way to make our living without working with our hands; and the idea that goes along with is that we have got to get rich, or possess all the means of pleasure that we see anybody else possessing. Another idea that curses our society and destroys our happiness is, that a man cannot be a happy, educated, contented, useful citizen while making his living at any kind of useful employment. —Wallace M. Short.

LABOR'S STANDARDS ARE NOT STATIONARY

There is a widespread belief that wages should be fixed on a cost-of-living basis. This idea is pernicious and intolerable. It means putting progress in chains and liberty in fetters. It means fixing a standard of living and a standard of life and liberty which must remain fixed. America's workers can not accept that proposition.

They demand a progressively advancing standard of life. They have an abiding faith in a better future for all mankind. They discard and denounce a system of fixing wages solely on the basis of family budgets and bread bills. Workers are entitled not only to a living, but modern society must provide more than what is under-

stood by the term "a living." It must concede to all workers a fairer reward for their contribution to society, a contribution without which a progressing civilization is impossible.—Declaration by conference of trade union executives, at Washington, December 13, 1919.

WORK

It is impossible to achieve by doing less than one's best.

It matters not whether one's job be to stoke a furnace, pound a typewriter, handle tools, tend looms, dig coal, run an engine, answer correspondence, teach children, sweep the streets, preach, plow, sell goods or edit a publication, the work can be done in a way that ennobles character or in a way that degrades it.

Not the nature of the work, but the nature of the spirit in which the work is done, counts.

No man or woman who is doing superior work ever feels superior to that work.

It is he who is doing work in a way that is not worth doing who feels that the work is not worth doing.

Were Carlyle alive today he could not write a truer or more timely word than this: "Work is the grand cure of all the maladies and miseries that ever beset mankind—honest work which you intend getting done."—Forbes Magazine.

FORCE IS FUTILE

Injunction judges are blind to human rights, and they offer no hope for a solution of industrial disputes, says the San Francisco Call and Post.

"The courts, as a rule," says the editor, "can see a right of property through a grindstone, whereas a human right is as inconspicuous as a fly speck on a stove pipe.

"The legal approach to the labor problem yields not a ray of hope.

Already invoked by the most reactionary employers, it is always bitterly resented by the working men. If the method is successful it makes radicals of those who suffer from it.

"Employers will have to learn, sooner or later, that the only way to deal with labor is to bargain with it. If power is to continue to be the final umpire in industrial disputes, capital will have to give in when labor has the most power.

"The only alternative is democracy, which few think of trying."—Granite Cutters.

THE USUAL STORY

Policemen who replaced striking policemen have established unenviable records, according to the annual report of Police Commissioner Curtis. This official was most active in opposing the recent effort of policemen to improve conditions. He disbanded their fraternal organization, and when they affiliated with the A. F. of L. he discharged many patrolmen. As a last resort the police struck.

Now Police Commissioner Curtis acknowledges that eight times more property was reported stolen last year than in 1916. During the year 73 policemen were found guilty of various charges and dismissed and 231 resigned. Of the latter number 51 quit while charges were pending against them.

THE STRENGTH OF SILENCE

When trouble is brewing, keep still. When slander is getting on its legs, keep still. When your feelings are hurt, keep still till you recover from excitement, at any rate. Things look different through an unagitated eye.

In commotion, once, I wrote a letter and sent it, and wished I had not. In my later years I had a commotion, and wrote a long letter; but life rubbed a little sense into me and I kept that letter in

my pocket against the day when I could look it over without agitation and without tears. I was glad I did. Less and less it seemed necessary to send it. I was not sure it would do any hurt, but in my doubtfulness I leaned to reticence, but eventually it was destroyed.

Time works wonders. Wait till you can speak calmly; then you will not need to speak, maybe. Silence is the most massive thing conceivable, sometimes. It is strength in very grandeur.—Burton.

CAPITALISTS ON STRIKE

Organized capitalists, through their subsidized press, have made a strong effort to put labor in the light of being a slacker. They howled all last spring and summer that "labor was not producing." They were horrified at the sight of a straw man of their own construction and prophesied dire calamity for the nation, playing all the time to make labor the scapegoat.

We now find that labor was producing, as it always does, more than was being consumed at the prices charged for its product.

What happens now? Factories close their doors, and employers absolutely refuse to produce. No attention is paid to the thousands of idle men and women who are dependent on their day's pay for the next day's bread. The press is strangely silent on criticising the employer who "refuses to produce." Labor is told it must expect a reduction in wages before we can hope to reach "normalcy."

It is to be hoped that we never reach normalcy, for that does not mean progress, but we are going to reach a point some day where labor will not be the foot-ball of capitalists. We are going to reach a point where big business will not be allowed to make millions by selling goods produced under low wage conditions at war-time prices and then close the factory door in the

face of labor rather than suffer the loss of a single penny when readjustment comes.—Cigar Makers' Journal.

LOOKING AND FINDING

We usually find about what we are looking for in this world. If we have no confidence in our assistants and our business associates, and show it, we are almost certain to find ample occasion for doubting them. On the other hand, if we are looking for evidence of ability, worth, reliability, trustworthiness and initiative and are willing to give the word of well-merited praise, we will seldom have reason to be disappointed. The innate nobility which exists in the average individual will rise to meet the good opinion held by those whose approval is valued. Exactly the opposite is true, also. If a helper gets the idea that his motives and capabilities are thought lightly or doubted, resentment springs up and that individual fails to do his best. It is a case of sinking or rising to meet the opinion of those about us. Let's help others up—not down.

WARNING!

Labor must be on guard against a grave danger, from which it can save itself if it will. The danger is the peril of being misled by false friends, by impractical leaders and unsound thinkers. These self-appointed leaders seek to exert an influence that is altogether unwarranted by their experience. Their inexperience makes them foolhardy. They would lead labor into the morass of untried, impractical and unsafe experiments, where high barriers would be erected between employers and employees, and society in general would suffer.

Labor should be deaf to the soap-box orator and his dangerous

theories. Labor should avoid as a pestilence the agitator who comes in the guise of the worker, but who would wreck the very house that labor is building wherein it may seek shelter from the elements of industrial strife.

The employer who takes labor by the hand, rather than by the throat, will fare best in the long run. And in like manner will the worker fare best who deserves to be taken by the hand. The man who is your employer has his side of the question. His brains in many cases built the business that gives you and yours your daily bread. Consideration by the worker of his own interests and the interests of his employer should be his economic ideal. Pulling apart won't get anywhere. Pulling together will win the race.—National Labor Journal (Pittsburgh).

WHY SHOE PRICES ARE HIGH

"The public has been led to believe that the high cost of shoes is largely due to the increase in wages, while, as a matter of fact, no intelligent person, with the knowledge that the increase in wages did not exceed 45 cents per pair, would charge the shoe workers with being responsible for increasing the price of a \$5 shoe to \$10 and \$12 and a \$7 shoe to \$15," says the general executive board of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union.

"Our members should not forget that a reduction in wages in any one factory or in any locality will result in similar reductions in other factories in other localities, so that in the end, insofar as the labor cost affects competition between manufacturers the situation will resume the same position as regards employment, except that the shoe workers will be working for lower wages."

Here's hoping that a trade unionist, a man carrying a paid-up trade union card, the real kind of trade unionist—not the trimmer—will be appointed Secretary of Labor. If the Republicans desire to remain in office they had better not antagonize the masses of the people too much. There is another time coming. The best policy for the Republican party to pursue is to make friends with the laboring masses of the country.

Any local union owing one month's per capita tax is not in good standing, and is not entitled to any protection from the International Union. Should such a union get its membership in a strike or lockout they would not be entitled to any strike benefits. Ask your secretary-treasurer if your union has paid its tax for the present month. See to it that you are protected. You pay for this protection and you should have it.

Building operations for the principal cities in October amounted to ninety-one million dollars compared with ninety-six million dollars the previous month and 157 million dollars a year ago. More than 100 of the principal cities of the country reported a decline as compared with last year. For the first ten months of the calendar year building operations in the principal cities have totaled 1,269 million dollars compared with 1,060 million dollars for the same portion of last year and 405 million dollars for the corresponding months of 1918. The increase shown over a year ago is hardly sufficient to offset the increased cost of building, so that total construction for this year to date must be somewhat below the corresponding portion of last year.

Money in circulation on the first of December was 6,363 million dollars compared with 6,393 million dollars a month before and 5,930 million dollars a year ago, making the circulation per capita \$59.41 compared with \$59.48 a month ago and \$55.65 a year ago. The stock of money in the United States on the first of the month was 8,282 million dollars compared with 8,255 million dollars a month ago and 7,783 million dollars a year ago.

Official Magazine
of the
**International Brotherhood
of Teamsters, Chauffeurs
Stablemen and Helpers
of America**

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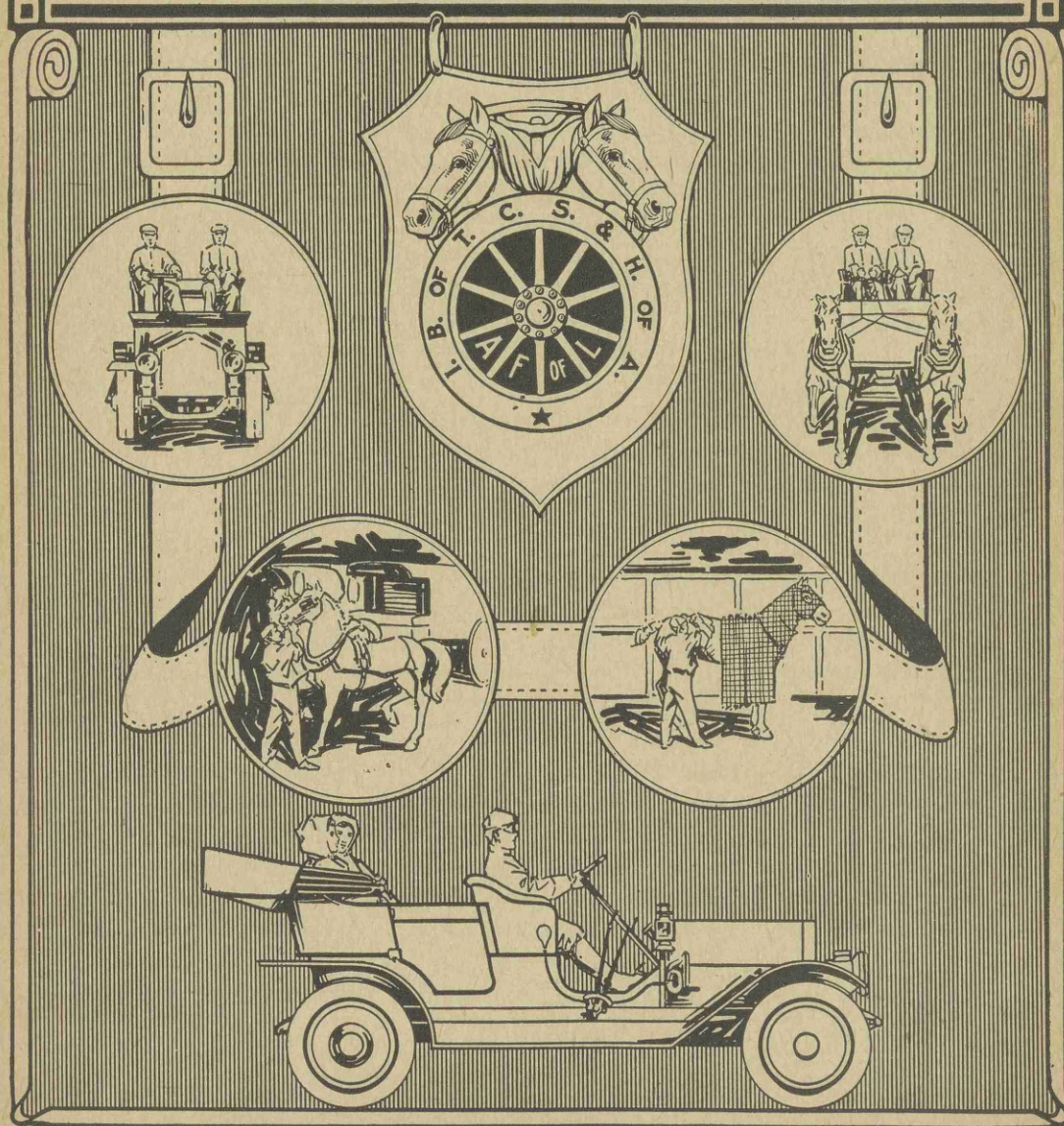
THOMAS L. HUGHES, Secretary

222 East Michigan Street

Indianapolis, Indiana

MARCH, 1921

OFFICIAL MAGAZINE OF INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD TEAMSTERS • CHAUFFEURS STABLEMEN AND HELPERS OF AMERICA



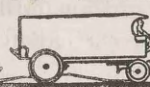
The Jewel Tea Company, which engaged in a conflict with the International about a year and a half ago, has finally closed its place in Chicago and has gone out of business in that city. We are sorry for this condition, but we did not enter into unpleasant relations with the Jewel Tea Company because we desired to do so but because we were forced to do so. They have lost their business in other cities throughout the country. This has undoubtedly all resulted from the fact that poor management brought about a fight with the International Union which could have been avoided.

The strike of the Taxicab Drivers' Local Union No. 112 of Philadelphia, which has been on for about three months, still prevails. Not one man has deserted the organization. The companies are operating a few cabs at an enormous expense. The officers of the union, in conjunction with an International Organizer, did everything in their power to avoid trouble, but their efforts were of no avail. The International Union has paid upwards of \$26,000 in this strike as strike benefits to the men. It is a case of where the employers put their backs up against the wall and decided to break up the union, but it would have been well for them to give this thought some consideration—in breaking up the union they may break themselves up, as had usually happened in every case of this kind. The men are fighting for justice and a square deal, and the International is doing everything in its power to assist them.

The lockout of the milk wagon drivers in Minneapolis still prevails. The International is financing this lockout. There are still one hundred men who have not yet secured employment in other places and are still on the strike pay roll. Up to this writing we have paid out almost \$16,000 in this lockout.

We want our membership to know where their money is going. It is a splendid thing that we have the money in the International treasury to support a lockout of this kind. In every instance where men are out on a strike or lockout in accordance with the Constitution, the International does not hesitate to pay them the benefits to which they are justly entitled, and where men are not out in accordance with the Constitution the International Executive Board can not pay them benefits, as the International Officers are only the trustees or guardians of the funds of the general membership, and are bound by this obligation to see to it that the funds of the International Union are expended in accordance with the Constitution. It is not pleasant for an officer at headquarters to have to refuse a local benefits. It is a great deal more pleasant to be able to assist the members of a local union when involved in trouble. When benefits are refused (and that happens but seldom), remember it is not the fault of the International Officers, but because you are not entitled to benefits in accordance with the Constitution.

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"INVISIBLE GOVERNMENT" ESTABLISHED



MANIFEST as has been the inefficiency of the present Senate, the public already has, and is likely to cherish, a far more damaging grievance against it. From all present indications "the interests" are again in the saddle and "invisible government" is established.

The immigration bill will serve as an index, a finger that points accusation. The need of restriction is manifest. Literally millions of workmen are out of employment, American institutions are menaced, and the menace centers in the swarms of aliens whom we are importing as "hands" for our industries, regardless of the fact that each hand has a mind and potentially a vote. With the diseases of ignorance and Bolshevism we are importing also the most loathsome diseases of the flesh. Typhus, the carrier of which is human vermin, has already been scattered among us, and neither Dr. Copeland nor the Commissioner of Immigration has the resources necessary to cope with it. Yet the bill restricting immigration hangs fire.

The House of Representatives has acted with exemplary wisdom and dispatch. Long before the present session began the committee on immigration was diligent in searching out the facts, diligent

also in rousing the public to the menace of delay. On the opening day it introduced a bill. The House proceeded at once to debate and amend it, and passed it within the space of one week. The majority was approximately ten to one. The "popular branch" of Congress registered the will of the people. On the next day the bill went to the Senate. For a time one heard of amendments, of arbitrary or academic substitute bills. And then one heard nothing. Since December 14 the record of progress has been nil. What the House did in seven days the Senate has not properly begun to do in over eight weeks.

To observers in Washington the reason is no secret. Farmers and manufacturers, strong in their local communities, clamor for cheap labor, irrespective of the needs of those who are now unemployed and unmindful of the menace of ignorance and destitution. Steamship companies find their margin of profit in multitudes of steerage passengers. One and all have maintained active lobbies in Washington—and the Senate has been correspondingly quiescent. To the miseries of the unemployed the senatorial mind is closed. The fact that the immigrant out of whom a steamship company makes at most a few dollars costs literally thousands in institutional care and in the labors of Americanization does not figure in senatorial economics. With the menace of typhus the Senate is not at all concerned. But it responds to the interests of private capital in the manner of those old times which were furthest of all from good.—New York Times.

Oh, ye men who prate of college,
And of books as doors to hope,
Go and gain the living knowledge
Where the toiling people grope.
Like the plants in shadowy places,
They are needing sun to bloom—

They are hungering for life's
graces,
They are wanting light and
room.

Give them something more of pleasure,
Than ten million dollar tomes;
Give them work and give them
leisure,
Give them clubs and give them
homes.

Open wide the door of beauty
And invite the people in—
And you'll find the paths of duty
Better filled than paths of sin.

Oh, I cannot sit debating
On the issues of a creed,
With the mighty work that's waiting
And the world's tremendous
need,
And the cold and costly steeple
Brings no pennies from my
purse,
While the people, people, people,
Groan beneath oppression's
curse.

While the tenements are reeking
With the striving, toiling poor,
Do not send your churchmen seeking
Help for heathen to my door.
Let them go where sin carouses,
Or where seething sweatshops
stand;
Let them see the slaughter houses
Of the children of our land.

True reform has one beginning—
The right hand of brotherhood.
Would you help men out of sin-
ning?
Would you lead them into good?
Would you teach that Christ has
risen?
Prove it by your deeds of worth.
If you want to close the prison,
Beautify the homes of earth.
—Ella Wheeler Wilcox.

EDITORIAL

(By Daniel J. Tobin)

SOME disappointment must be experienced by the hundreds of thousands who were expecting absolute prosperity immediately upon the election of Mr. Harding. The cry everywhere was that we needed a change. Well, we got the change; a change not for prosperity, but actual, general depression and idleness, and this condition is liable to continue.

Mr. Harding will have his hands full. The Republican party will undoubtedly have all it can do to hold the confidence of the masses of the people. The entire stock market has gone to pieces. Business everywhere is shut down; men and women walking the streets seeking employment, and they might just as well remain at home, because many of the places that are running on half time are doing so from a spirit of duty, feeling obligated to give their employes some work so that they may live. There is an old saying: "Well enough should be let alone." In the history of the world there was never such prosperity as we enjoyed for the last five or six years. Men could go out anywhere and find employment. Wages were high. Everybody was happy and prosperous. But they desired a change, and they got the change and it looks bad not only for the masses of workers but for the moneyed classes. About March 4, and during the first few days of Mr. Harding's administration, we will have glowing reports as to the great things that are going to be done, but you just bear in mind, it will be pure, unadulterated bluff. There will not be any prosperity anywhere equal to what we had before. On the contrary, we will have plenty of idleness. Of course, during the summer months things will look brighter, but you may rest assured that next winter will not be overabundant in anything, so do not make any foolish investments, and during the summer save all the money you can. It reminds us of the dream of the ancient ruler, which was interpreted by Joseph, that there were to be seven years of plenty, overwhelming plenty—fat years—and then seven lean years of starvation, and Joseph advised the ruler to save up everything that could possibly be saved during the seven years of plenty—which was done—so that they might be able to take care of the seven lean years. I hope and trust that the workers have done the same thing. I am confident that we will not have seven lean years, but we will have one or two lean years, and in my judgment we never again will experience the prosperity that we enjoyed in this country for the last four or five years.

PRESIDENT GOMPERS should be crowned the king of optimists, because he surely has a mind that endeavors to turn defeat into victory. He made a statement shortly after the last general election in which he conveyed the impression that the election was a great victory for Labor, because he said that there were several of the enemies of Labor defeated. Of course, that was true, but Mr. Gompers should have added that there were several Birds elected in their places that are, if anything, just as bad as those defeated. We will be very lucky if we have more than three or four congressmen who will have the courage to get on

the floor of Congress and speak a word for Labor. It is quite the style for the law-making bodies to attack Labor. If a politician desires financial aid or patronage now in either of the branches of our government, all he has to do is to denounce Labor as strongly as possible. This is the victory we obtained in the last election. But sit tight in your seat, grit your teeth and just make up your mind that we are going to go through this serious period in our organization. There is another day coming, and just like they say about the Irish shamrocks, the more that you crush them the faster they grow, the same is true of Labor; the more Labor is persecuted, the stronger it will become, and when that day of power comes, defeat the party or parties who when they had an opportunity endeavored to destroy organized labor.

THE officer of a local union entrusted with the funds of that union who misappropriates those funds is a criminal of the worst type. A man who holds any office in a union who goes out and attempts to hold up employers, and obtains money for himself, deserves any punishment that may be imposed on him. There is no greater crime that can be committed than to violate the confidence and break down the trust of the men who have placed implicit confidence in you by electing you to office. As a rule, unions pay their salaried officers pretty decent wages both in the local unions and the International, and there is not much cause for complaint, and the salaried officer who then goes out to employers and by threat of calling a strike, or some other crooked method, obtains money for himself, such a man is the lowest and most contemptible human being imaginable. He not only does an injury to himself and the men he represents, but he injures the entire Labor Movement. He breaks down the trust of the honest-thinking members against the honest and legitimate officers who never have a thought of wrongdoing. Hundreds of honest, innocent men who do not attend their meetings read the daily papers and when they see it in large type that a certain labor individual, here and there, is convicted of graft, they immediately make up their minds that undoubtedly all labor officials must be wrong; must be grafters, and when they read of individuals who admit that they have taken money from employers, you can hardly blame the honest-thinking members for becoming suspicious, so, in accordance with the statement made above, the labor officials who commit such a crime, that is, the crime of grafting, or stealing from a labor union, is doing an enormous injury to the thousands of honest labor officials who would rather lose their very lives than be guilty of serious financial wrongdoing. It is a fact that there is a very small percentage of labor officials who go wrong in this way; a smaller percentage than in any other kind of occupation where a similar number of men are employed handling money belonging to other people. The percentage of men who go wrong in the banking institutions of the country is much greater than the number of labor officials. The percentage of employees of the government who go wrong financially is greater than the number of labor officials, but this is not taken into consideration by the newspapers. If a bank clerk or some man handling money for the government goes wrong, it is forgotten in a day, but should a labor official go wrong it is published in large, bold type on the front page of every newspaper in the country and is referred to by the enemies of labor for years afterwards. The unfortunate situation which has developed from the investigation of the Lockwood Housing Committee of New York,

will be thrown in the faces of labor men for years to come, although there has been but very few labor men directly or indirectly implicated in it.

I want to say to our membership that they must not lose confidence in the officials who are employed by them. In the Labor Movement, as in any other great body of men, there may be found one or two sheep who stray from the path of justice and honesty, but this should not be cause for condemning the entire flock. We all feel the seriousness of the crime committed by an individual who accepts money from an employer or who misappropriates the funds of his union. Such individuals deserve to be punished for the injustice that they do to the great cause in which we are all engaged, especially when the odds that are now against us require unity and strength and solidarity. The Labor Movement is too great and too grand and too important a cause to suffer materially for one or two wrongdoers, and anything that has happened as a result of the New York investigation in the Building Trades, or that may happen as a result of the investigation about to take place in the Chicago Building Trades, while the doubting Thomases may pause and wonder, the Labor Movement will emerge triumphantly from any unjust assertions that may be made against it by its enemies. Let the investigation go on and let them weed out the wrongdoers if there are any in the Labor Movement. The Labor Movement can not afford to retain in their employ, either locally or internationally, officers who are dishonest, and any man is making a mistake if he believes that he can go on indefinitely doing wrong and betraying the men who have elected him to office and who have placed their confidence in him. Let the investigation now going on be a warning to any officer within our organization or in the Labor Movement who may have for one moment strayed from the path of justice and right. Bear this in mind, that you may get away with wrongdoing for a short time, but eventually you are bound to get caught. A few men who believed themselves wise, have tried to play crooked games time and time again, and failed. There is only one course to pursue and that is the course of justice and honesty. The Labor Movement pays its officers salaries sufficient for them to live honestly. No man has a right to collect from employers through threats or any other form of graft. If you think you can do it and get away with it, you are very much mistaken, and while we are sorry, extremely sorry, that any man should have broken his pledge and obligation of loyalty to his union, we can not afford to have dishonest men holding positions of trust in the Labor Movement.

THE funds of a local union ought to be just as sacred and should be more carefully handled, if possible, than a man's own private funds. Whenever I look into the treasury of a local union and find that treasury properly protected and guarded, the secretary bonded and the local careful as to the expenditure of its moneys, I realize that the local union has an efficient set of officers and especially a careful and conservative secretary-treasurer. To waste the money of a local union, or vote it out carelessly here and there, in my judgment, is nothing better than criminal.

I well remember an instance that happened in the Teamsters' Benevolent of Boston some years ago. This was a fraternal organization composed principally of teamsters. Mr. William Hartnett, long since

passed away, was then president of the benevolent association. It was customary to give a ball each year so that funds for the sick and death benefit might be obtained. A meeting was held to discuss the matter, Mr. Hartnett was presiding and some one of the officers made a motion that the officers and aids attend the ball in dress suits and that the organization pay any expenses attached to procuring same. In those days the drivers did not own their own dress suits. Mr. Hartnett immediately made the statement that he would not accept the motion; said if the men wanted to wear evening clothes, they could hire them, as they would not buy suits at the expense of the sick and death benefit of the organization, and the organization overwhelmingly sustained the ruling. Such a decision may not have been absolutely in accordance with parliamentary procedure, but, at least, it was good common sense and it had a tendency to strengthen the confidence of the membership in the officers. It is a common occurrence in some unions to have some member jump up on the floor and vote that the local purchase a small present in recognition of the services of some one who has done something for the union, perhaps served on a wage scale committee. For seventeen years I have been a member of a fraternal organization composed entirely of American citizens, and the presiding officer can hold office only for one year. It is customary at the end of his term of office to give something as a gift, as there is no salary attached to the office, but under no circumstances can any of the moneys of the organization be drawn for such a purpose. The members, if they desire to do so, can put their hands down in their pockets and contribute whatever amount they desire to contribute. In this way the money comes from the rank and file. If this rule was applied in our unions, we would not have so many motions made to procure gifts for individuals. There are many men who will vote away the local's money, who would hesitate before assessing themselves. Old Alek Dijeau who still lives in San Francisco was some organizer in his day. Whenever he was driven out of one union, he organized another. After he was thrown out of Local No. 226 Milk Wagon Drivers of San Francisco, he organized the stablemen, and when he had to move from there he went over to Oakland and organized the milk wagon drivers in Oakland. They tell me (I do not know how true it is), that whenever a local union raised \$500 or \$600 that Alek would have the executive board of the local to a dinner and they would have it fixed up that a motion was to be made on the floor of the local union that the local vote to give him a diamond, and the man who objected of course got in bad. I do not know how true this statement is, but it is a common rumor around San Francisco that this was the method of procedure. Of course, this was nothing better than stealing the funds of the local union. It is true, this does not happen in our unions today. There are other organizations that are much more afflicted with parasites of this kind than we are. A man may get away with that kind of stuff for a short time, but eventually the rank and file will wake up. After the great anthracite strike of the miners, John Mitchell, one of the most loved characters in the American labor movement, a man whom every one held in the highest esteem, the anthracite miners after starving for nearly four months finally returned to work and it was proposed that some token of their esteem be given to John Mitchell, but Mr. Mitchell absolutely refused to accept anything in the form of a present if the money was to be taken from the funds of any of the local unions in the anthracite region, and under no circumstances

would he accept a present if any of the members gave more than a small amount—not to exceed ten cents. His wishes were carried out and the poor miners all chipped in their five and six cents each and procured for him a ring which he wore continuously until he was called away. This only proved the cleanliness of character of the man. It is very hard for an officer to refuse a token of appreciation, because with the token is conveyed the esteem and good will of the rank and file. Their mark of appreciation can be more thoroughly expressed by each individual contributing a small amount than it can be by voting the money out of the treasury of the local union. In writing this article, I desire to say, that it is not my intention to convey the idea that there is anything like wrongdoing along this line going on within our organization. I think we have, as a whole, the cleanest set of men working for our local unions that can be found in any International Union in America, but I am writing this for the purpose of trying to protect our union and guard against anything that might arise in the future along the line described above. I believe men who work for the unions should be paid decent salaries. I am opposed, always have been and always will be, to the bonus system.

A GAIN let me repeat that every member of our union in good standing is entitled to the Journal free each month, but under the law the Journal must be sent to the home address of the member and his name must be approved by the secretary of his local union before the Journal can be sent to him. The Journal can not be sent in bulk form to the officers of the local union. Secretary-treasurers should endeavor each month to keep their mailing list in the general office corrected. Do not say, it is hard to do this because the members are continually moving. This is not so, at least, for the past two years, because they have had no place to move. If a man dies, is suspended or expelled, it is very easy for the local union, or at least for the salaried officers, to keep a slip on their desk and make a note of the change and at the end of the month notify the general office.

THE International constitution reads that the per capita tax must be paid in advance each month. That means that local unions are expected to have their per capita tax in the general office, for instance, for the month of March, as early as possible in the first days of March, but under all circumstances it should be in not later than the 20th of each month. You might ask: How are you going to pay per capita tax for the month of March on your actual membership when you do not know how many members will pay their dues for the month of March? The only answer we can make to this is, that you must base your per capita tax for the month of March on what you received for the month of February. Use your own judgment and if you receive dues over and above what you paid in at the beginning of the month, you can easily fix this up the succeeding month.

LOCAL UNIONS owing the International Union three months' per capita tax stand suspended from the International Union and are not entitled to benefits for three months after all arrearages are paid; that is, local unions owing tax for December, January and February, on the 20th day of February, not having paid anything, would

be suspended on the 21st day of February. The tax should be in the International Office on the 20th of the month. Local unions that are suspended are not entitled to financial benefits. If they pay up all of their arrearages on the 22nd day of February, even then they would not be entitled to protection or benefits from the International Union for three months afterwards. This amendment to the constitution was adopted several years ago so that local unions would be prompt in paying their tax and would be careful about allowing themselves to become suspended. It is not a rule made by any one man. At the time of the adoption of this amendment, several years ago, it was the unanimous action of the convention and this section of the constitution was unanimously approved at the last convention. It is unfortunate that many members who pay their dues into a local union never inquire as to whether or not the local union is paying its dues to the International promptly, and then when they are refused benefits by the International Office because of suspension, etc., of the local union, they raise the old Harry, and say: "We pay our dues into the local and it is not our fault if the union is not paid up." But it is your fault. It is your lack of interest in the affairs of your local union that has made it possible for the officers to be negligent in their duties by not complying with the law. Within the last few months we paid upwards of \$25,000 to one local union in Philadelphia because they were entitled to benefits. We paid thousands of dollars to a local union in Minneapolis whose members were locked out, because they were living within the law. We paid thousands of dollars to Local Union No. 273, Van Drivers of New York, because they were entitled to benefits. It would indeed have been unfortunate for those locals had their officers been negligent in their duties and they were not in good standing with the International at the time the trouble with their employers started. There is nothing so important as to keep your insurance paid up both in the union and in your family affairs.

IT WAS very good judgment on the part of the convention to raise the strike benefit from \$5 a week to \$10 a week and to raise the per capita tax to meet the increased strike fee. The International Union never had greater need for increased revenue than it has had since the closing of the convention. Hundreds of our men and many of our unions have been out fighting against a reduction in wages and against the so-called "open shop." The International has generously paid strike and lockout benefits in each case where the local union acted in accordance with the constitution. Five dollars a week would not have been much good to a man and his family. Ten dollars a week is of material benefit and a substantial help to a man fighting to maintain the conditions to which he is justly entitled. This is where your money is going. You pay 30 cents a month to the International, or 1 cent per day, to help maintain this institution of which you are a member. You pay it in as an insurance tax to build up a treasury so that you may be protected in case you need protection against the encroachments now, or in the future, of unjust employers. Do you think you are paying too much by acting in accordance with the unanimous decision of the last convention by paying into the great American labor movement the amount of 1 cent per day for its maintenance and support? Remember, not only are you insured against a strike, but part of that 1 cent per

day is sent to the American Federation of Labor to help sustain the expenses of that institution which is fighting for the freedom of the toilers of our country and helping in the solution of the world problems. Do you, as trade unionists, believe that it is too much for you to pay 1 cent per day for the splendid benefits you have obtained through the organization, for the benefit insurance you will receive in case of strike, provided your local union is in good standing, and to help maintain the American Federation of Labor that is endeavoring to overthrow oppression and unjust employers' associations throughout the country? The writer thinks that you do not believe that you are paying too much, but that as trade unionists, you are looking at the conditions under which you are now employed and the conditions that obtained a few years ago. Every dollar that you pay into the International Union is accounted for. Any member in good standing in our International Union can look over the books of the International organization at any time. We stand for no grafting or crooked work within the International Union. Therefore, we ask you to see to it that your local union pays its tax regularly and is in good standing with the International, because this is the only way in which you can remain in affiliation with the four million members of the American Federation of Labor.

THE secretary-treasurer, or any other officer of a local union, has no right, under the law, to accept a transfer card from a member coming from another local union and desiring membership in that local unless his due book is stamped up to date—not with the old-time 15-cent stamp, but for the months of December, January and February, and for all other months from now on, must be stamped with the regular 30-cent per capita stamp. Some secretary-treasurers must be using the old stamp. This can not be done, because beginning December, 1920, the new 30-cent per capita tax stamp must be used on all due books.

THE greatest crime that any one within our organization can commit, is to do bodily injury or make an attempt to do so, on any officer of the local union. It is a crime which is punishable by the General Executive Board by permanent expulsion from membership in any of the local unions affiliated with the International Organization. Any member who strikes an officer of a local over some point that might arise on which they disagree is not worthy to have communion or association with decent and upright men. This condition very seldom obtains in our organization, but should it prevail at any time in the future, I now warn our membership that the local union officers must be protected and any one who violates his obligation to this extent will be permanently and disgracefully expelled from the International Organization should charges be preferred against him and the case brought to the attention of the International Executive Board. The days of rowdiness have passed never to return. The labor movement has no use, within its membership, for thugs or blackjack men.

THERE are thousands of men out of work throughout the country. Our organization never before felt the unemployment question as much as at the present time. Men everywhere are idle. The general membership of our International has dropped down since the first of November. We are now in the midst of the depression, and it

is not, by any means, going to pass over in the immediate future. Conditions will be bad for perhaps a year or more. While conditions may improve somewhat during the summer months, we will be confronted next winter with the same serious unemployment problem. It behooves all local unions to be very careful and enter into no controversy with their employers which will cause a stoppage of work. I also want to warn you that the International does not want any enormous demands made on the employers just now when every employer in the country is trying to make both ends meet. We are facing a falling market, things are dropping down; there is a determined effort on the part of the public, assisted by the Government, to bring down the high cost of living, so we must do nothing to increase the cost of living. This does not mean that we are not entitled to an adequate and just wage, but it does mean that we must not go to extremes by asking for conditions that are impossible. We must remember that the war is over; that there is a surplus of labor on the market; that there are at the present time three men for every job. Like all other serious conditions that have ever confronted our nation, this condition will pass over, but we may rest assured that we will never again experience the high prices for labor or for anything else that we experienced during the war. It is to be regretted that it can be said that some organizations and some of the men in the labor movement, without the consent of their organizations, abused their privilege and power during the war and the employers are not forgetting the actions of those organizations or individuals who took advantage of that situation, and the employers are paying them back now in their own money.

Our organization did not do this. We kept our agreements faithfully. Our officers acted with justice and consideration for all parties concerned in every city and town in the country during the trying days of the war. We are not meeting with so much trouble from employers attempting to reduce wages, but there are some small employers who seem determined to bring about trouble. In such instances, we were compelled to resist reductions in wages. This has only happened in a few places and in such cases the employers have been forced to close their doors and their business has gone to the other employers who in turn hire the men who refused to accept a reduction in wages. If we will all hold our heads together, act like sane men, not becoming wild or unreasonable in our talk or actions, deciding amongst ourselves to accept the situation and do the best we can—by following this course, we will undoubtedly come out triumphantly in the end.

SINCE our last issue I have been down in Mexico, as a delegate from the American Federation of Labor to the Pan-American Trade Union Convention. I spent about two weeks in Mexico. Much as I have read and heard about that country all my life, I found on reaching there that I knew practically nothing about it. There are millions of Americans who know nothing, or practically nothing, about that country, which is directly south of us. The descriptions published in newspapers and magazines, usually written by prejudiced writers, give us but a very faint idea of the country, its people or its government. While in school our geography told us practically nothing at all about Mexico, and very few of us were sufficiently interested to read an unprejudiced and unbiased history of that country.

The trade union movement in Mexico is growing very fast, especially

under the present government. In Mexico City all classes of workers are organized. We get but a very poor idea of the real workers of Mexico from the class of immigrants who cross the border into Texas or California.

How many of us know that Mexico City is the oldest city on the American continent? How many of us know that when Cortez landed in Mexico, having then been driven out of Havana, that he found a city of forty thousand inhabitants, governed by the Aztec prince or emperor, Moctezuma. Mexico City was then the largest city in the world in population. There are old churches that have now fallen down that date back over one thousand years. In the National Museum in Mexico City, which is conducted and maintained by the government, are to be found historical relics that date back before the beginning of Christianity. For instance, the Aztec Calendar Stone and the Sacrificial Stone, on one of which was kept a record of the year, and on the other was slain the sacrifices offered to their several gods—human sacrifices in every instance. How many of us know that about twenty-five miles from Mexico City are to be seen pyramids that are not equaled by any other in the world, except that one of the Egyptian pyramids is slightly larger than the pyramids in Mexico? The largest pyramid in Egypt has a circumference of about eleven and one-fourth acres, while the largest pyramid outside the City of Mexico had a circumference of nine and one-half acres.

We were the guests of the Government on our visit to those pyramids, and in climbing the two hundred steps of stone, I want to assure you that I had to rest several times before I reached the top. The high altitude of the City of Mexico somewhat affected a great number of the delegates. The city is 8,800 feet above sea level and this pyramid was two hundred feet from the base to the top. This pyramid dates back nearly two thousand years. The masonry in the building of the steps from the foundation to the top is in perfect condition. One of the professors of archæology in the University of Mexico informed me that the nearest place in which the stones used in the building of those pyramids could be found was nearly fifty miles from the place where the pyramids were erected, so, as was done by the slaves of Pharaoh in the building of the Egyptian pyramids, those Aztecs must have dragged those stones—hundreds of thousands of tons—on their backs or on some kind of rollers, a distance of fifty miles. That day we ate lunch in a cave to which the tribes fled when engaged in warfare amongst themselves. All around the pyramids are mounds or temples of great interest which the different generations or civilizations built in adoration of their several gods. The Government in its exploration is now excavating a city which is built over another city. The old ruins of the buildings are very distinct, showing that one civilization being exterminated, they were succeeded by another civilization that built its city over the previous one. Everywhere you go is to be found relics of ancient civilizations, just as interesting, if not more so, than anything that can be found in Europe. One stands in wonder at the magnificence of this ancient architecture, and we find that many of the inventions of today are only reproductions of the inventions of ancient civilizations, which have been improved upon. We had the pleasure of seeing a burning mountain a few miles from Mexico City. Smoke was gushing from its interior. How many of us knew that there were volcanos or burning mountains very close to our border? Every place

one goes in that country he stands in respectful reverence at the wonders he witnesses.

But do not think that it is pleasant getting down to Mexico City. While the railroads are much better than they were, it is necessary to travel over quite a wilderness or desert from San Antonio to Laredo and from Laredo, which is on the very edge of our country, to Mexico City. They told us that from Mexico City to Vera Cruz is a tropical country, but I did not have a chance to see this, as I could not make connections with a boat from Vera Cruz. As many of our American people as possible should see Mexico and learn for themselves the real conditions of the people. They are a gentle, somewhat religious and harmless people and they do not despise Americans as has been told us through the newspapers, provided that the Americans mind their own business and do not endeavor to trample on them. The trouble in Mexico has been that Americans who have gone down there have endeavored to get control of Mexico and its people. Any man or woman traveling in Mexico never needs to have any fear of being molested or interfered with if they attend to their own affairs and treat the natives as if they were real human beings. There is and has been some feeling against our government and the great rich monopolists of our country because the monopolists and millionaires who have gone down to Mexico have undoubtedly attempted to exploit the people of Mexico. The feeling against our government was somewhat engendered by German propaganda during the war and because of the fact that Carranza, who in my judgment was favorable to the Germans, had been carrying on a campaign in that country for years in favor of the Germans. The present government officials, and I had the pleasure of meeting with nearly all of them, including President Obregon, are of a different type. All they want is justice for their own country and they are determined to have it. They are also in favor of justice for all other countries. The Mexican government at the present time is more inclined to look with favor upon our government than any government that has controlled Mexico in the past one hundred years. There is an enormous field for business in Mexico and it behooves our government and our business interests to do everything in their power to hold the friendship and esteem of this next-door neighbor of ours. As stated above, the trade union movement there is growing. The government officials are outspoken in favor of the organization and education of the masses. President Obregon said to us: "We are a government of pledges and we intend to make good our pledges, and one of the pledges is, that our people must be educated." Another statement of his was, that if the governments of the world would pay more attention to the masses of the people and less attention to the monopolists there would not be so much discontent and trouble. One of the government officials told us he was coming to the States to purchase hundreds of thousands of school books and that he was going to insist that they be strictly union made and printed on union paper. He also stated that the government of Mexico is to establish their own printing plant in the near future and was going to contract for union-made machinery and union-made paper to be used in the printing establishment. I went through the different parts of the government's business in which the uniforms and equipment of the military are manufactured and I saw thousands of Mexican women working in as sanitary and up-to-date a building as I ever saw in the United States. They are all unionized, working a strictly eight-hour day.

No sweat shop conditions in connection with government employment.

We had quite a lengthy interview with President Obregon in the palace at Chapultepec. This is a most wonderful building and I never saw anything much more impressive. Its erection dates back hundreds of years. It stands about two hundred feet up from the street level and up in the air on those levels are beautiful flower gardens. President Obregon, accompanied by his son and military aid, met us in the large reception room. He has four beautiful children. We learned from one of the local labor men that he did not live in the palace; that he lived in an unpretentious house on the grounds. His reason for not living in the palace is that he does not desire to bring his children up in that environment. He desires that his children be democratic, understanding the common people, and not living in an air of luxury and wealth. He is anxious that they be useful members of society and not parasites. His talk with us was very plain and to the point, man-to-man fashion. He did not hesitate to say how much he believed in the splendid principle for which the American Federation of Labor is standing. He did not hesitate to say that he knew that the trade unionists of the United States were the friends of Mexico, and that he knew that the trade unions of America were not in sympathy with wrongdoing in Mexico or any other country. He did not hesitate to say that he was going to do everything in his power to help educate and organize the workers of Mexico, and that their organization must be founded on sanity and common sense. President Obregon has a pleasant countenance, friendly and smiling, but in his features are stamped that determination and strength of character which made him President of Mexico, or the choice of the masses of the people in the first real honest election that has ever been held in Mexico. Nearly every member in his cabinet expressed the same feeling towards the American Federation of Labor. They expressed their love for the common people and their desire to help them. Every one of those leaders realized the enormous responsibility devolving upon them.

Do not for one moment think that Mexico is entirely settled; that here and there considerable discontent does not exist. That is true, but it is more peaceful and more tranquil than it has been for twenty-five years, and I am hopeful that it will continue to improve as time goes on, but it is almost impossible to expect a people where so much illiteracy prevails, where people have suffered so much from revolution and wrongdoing, to get down immediately and become as normal as we think we are in our own country. In every country in the world discontent and dissatisfaction against the government exists at the present time and it is only reasonable to expect that a certain amount of discontent should prevail in that wonderful country of Mexico, where the people have suffered and bled, where they have been exploited by nearly every country in the world, and by some millionaires and profiteers in our own country, and by the false leaders who have come up now and then in their own country.

The railroad men in Mexico are thoroughly organized, and I found them to be competent, energetic and careful workmen. This is true also of the machinists and a few other trades, but the great rank and file of the workers are unorganized. There is a great deal of construction work to be done in Mexico and I imagine that American contractors will perhaps do a great deal of the work. Their methods are not at all modern. What Mexico needs is brains of the modern kind and money. They should be able to obtain both. Now, do not pack up your grip

and run down to Mexico, but if you should go, the most pleasant way to travel is to go by boat either from New York or New Orleans to Vera Cruz and then to Mexico City. I found conditions of living just as expensive in the City of Mexico as in Chicago, and if you imagine you can buy souvenirs, clothing, or anything else cheaper than you can buy them in St. Louis you are very much mistaken. The high cost of living has struck Mexico just as hard as any country in the world. We were examined very closely by both the customs officials and the health officials on re-entering the United States, and any packages considered contraband were immediately taken away and they did not apologize for doing so. Two of our party were vaccinated. We were treated with all possible courtesy by the Mexican government officials, who made provisions for every convenience that could possibly be extended us.

Taking into consideration my two weeks in Mexico, they were the most interesting I have spent for a great many years from the standpoint of education. I learned a great many lessons that I expect will be helpful to me and our organization as time goes on. One can do a great deal of traveling and obtain many facts in two weeks.

You will notice that I have not referred to what transpired at the Pan-American Convention, which I attended each day, because my report on this convention is the property of the American Federation of Labor.

WE NEED nothing so much now as patience, common sense and calm, cool judgment. Remember, we are not the only ones that are suffering or having a grievance, or that are confronted with unemployment. Throughout the entire nation the same condition prevails, much worse in other organizations than in our own. This is not only true in our country, but it is true in every country in the world. In some countries idleness and unemployment has gone so far that it has brought about a condition bordering on revolution. Reading the London papers we see where the unemployed are taking things in their own hands, breaking into eating places and taking possession of places in which to get warm. We also see from the Canadian papers that in Montreal a similar condition prevails. In every country in Europe there is a general stoppage of work, by far a great deal worse than in our country, although conditions are pretty bad here. The reason the men and women are not breaking the laws to secure food and shelter in our country is that during the years of plenty nearly every working man and woman saved up something and they are now drawing on that small account to keep the wolf from the door, but when the saving accounts are used up it is pretty hard to tell where things are going to end. I am satisfied, however, that our condition will not go to serious extremes, because, after all, our citizenship is made up of the best stock from every country of the world, and when it comes to thinking and acting sanely, there are no people that can compare with ours in exercising common sense and cool judgment.

The so-called "open shop" movement is waning. This, at least, is something to be thankful for. After all, things are not so bad that they could not be worse. Stick to your jobs, do the best you can, have patience, and remember that while your health and the health of the members of your family remains normal, that you will always find something to eat and a place to lay your head in this wonderful, glorious, plentiful country of ours.

CHURCHES ASSAIL OPEN SHOP POLICY

Labeling the open shop movement as an attempt to crush organized labor, the Commission on Church and Social Service of the Council of the Churches of Christ in America recently issued a statement voicing "the representative Protestant view of the open shop drive," which it declares is "in thorough accord with the recent utterances of the National Catholic Welfare Council."

"The relation between employers and workers throughout the United States," says the commission, "are seriously affected at this moment by a campaign which is being conducted for the open shop policy—the so-called American plan of employment. These terms are now being frequently used to designate establishments that are definitely anti-union. Obviously, a shop of this kind is not an open shop, but a closed shop—closed against members of labor unions."

"We feel impelled to call public attention to the fact that a very widespread impression exists that the present open shop campaign is

inspired in many quarters by this antagonism to union labor. Many disinterested persons are convinced that an attempt is being made to destroy the organized labor movement. Any such attempt must be viewed with apprehension by fair-minded people. When, for example, an applicant for work is compelled to sign a contract pledging himself against affiliation with a union, or when a union man is refused employment or discharged, merely on the ground of union membership, the employer is using coercive methods and is violating the fundamental principle of an open shop. Such action is as unfair and inimical to economic freedom and to the interest of society as is corresponding coercion exercised by labor bodies in behalf of the closed shop."

The Council of the Churches of Christ in America is made up of thirty-one evangelical bodies. Its work is entirely on social and economic lines and is in no way doctrinal. The Rev. Dr. Henry Churchill King, president of Oberlin College, is head of the organization.—New York World.

CORRESPONDENCE



BLOOMINGTON, ILL.

Mr. D. J. Tobin, Indianapolis, Ind.:

The true significance of the "Brotherhood" part of our organization's title was demonstrated to me a short time ago so clearly as to leave no possible room for doubt as to what that word really means.

It was at a regular meeting of Local 333 and the president had just announced the head—"Good and welfare of the union"—when a brother, just an ordinary coal wagon driver, took the floor and reported a case of one of the mem-

bers who had been out of employment for nearly nine weeks and had just had an additional burden thrust upon him by a quarantine on his home on account of smallpox. The speaker was very brief with his remarks, but suggested that some relief should be provided by the local for this brother who was in such unfortunate circumstances. Well, the response to that appeal very forcefully demonstrated that real "Brotherhood" is something more than a group of eleven letters—it is a living reality in the hearts

and lives of the workers who are united by the cords of trade unionism. The A. F. of L. certainly was correct when it declared that "trade unionism fosters education and uproots ignorance."

The fact is that this brother, who had been out of employment for nine weeks, besides being quarantined with smallpox, was badly in need of a helping hand; his house rent was due and he was going heavily in debt on account of illness and unemployment. "I am willing to contribute ten dollars," responded one of the members in the hall. "I also have ten dollars to give," replied another. A neat sum was subscribed in this manner, and a liberal donation was voted from the local's treasury.

The next morning this unfortunate member was in a position to meet his more important obligations, besides liquidating a part of his indebtedness, and life to him seemed to be the more worth living after all because his fellow-unionists had grasped the true meaning of that "Brotherhood" referred to in our organization's title. This was a meeting that I shall never forget as long as I live. I sat in the hall and thought of the words of the Savior: "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto the least of these, my brethren, ye have done it unto Me." It seems that no institution on earth tries harder to carry out the teachings of the lowly Nazarene than does the trade union movement.

I thought, too, that this is the very institution for which thousands of dollars are being spent by the employers' associations to disrupt, crush and destroy. Anti-labor legislation, "can't-strike" industrial courts, strike breakers and "open shop" drives are being pressed into active service by labor baiters in a violent attempt to crush trade unionism and destroy that true spirit of "Brotherhood" which I saw so strikingly emphasized at the union meeting herein referred to.

If ever I had been indifferent to the cause of trade unionism, I am sure that that meeting would have caused me to undergo a change of heart. Any man with a spark of love for common humanity, after having witnessed that scene, would leave the hall with a determination to do everything within his power to uphold and protect the cause of trade unionism, which trains the workers to observe the spirit of "Brotherhood" in the fullest sense of that term. In fact, this "help-one-another" spirit has always been a recognized fact among the members of Local 333 and, because of that, the organization stands as a great power and influence for the betterment of its members. As is true with the trade union movement as a whole, Local 333 is an organization in which no man owes apologies for holding membership.

MARTIN A. DILLMON,
Local 333.

OAKLAND, CAL.

Mr. D. J. Tobin, Indianapolis, Ind.:

Dear Sir and Brother—We wish to call your attention to the advertisement in a number of eastern papers announcing the fact that Alameda has been chosen as the site for the new naval base and inviting the people to come to Alameda county and make their homes.

This naturally will cause an influx of working people, and as the number of unemployed is great at the present time in this vicinity we feel that steps should be taken to inform our eastern brothers of the existing condition and also to point out the fact that Congress has not as yet made any appropriations for said naval base and that construction can not start for a year or more.

We therefore earnestly request you to publish these facts in the Journal. Thanking you in advance, we remain

Fraternally yours,
G. A. SILVERTHORN,
Secretary, Local No. 302.

This International Union of ours is not the property of one, two or ten men. It is the property of the entire 100,000 members of our general organization. It is foolish for an individual here and there to attack one or two men because of some grievance, which usually amounts to nothing, that he has had with them. We are all trying to do the best we can in our respective positions to help strengthen the organization of which each one of us is an important part. Petty disagreements and misunderstandings amount to nothing in this great big movement. Individuals come and go and those who are here today will perhaps be forgotten in a few years, but the organization will go onward and onward, no matter who constitutes the leadership, either locally or Internationally.

Any local union or joint council that issues a circular in defiance of the laws and rules laid down by the International Union is subject to revocation of its charter. Obedience to the International law and International authority is a fundamental principle of the trade union movement. The local union is the child of the International, and when it receives its charter it enters into a contract with the International to obey its laws and the mandates of the General Executive Board. Should the local union violate the laws or endeavor to create discontent or distrust amongst the rank and file of the general membership, it is guilty of a serious offense, and, as stated above, cannot remain in affiliation with the International because of violation of the contract it entered into with the International when it obtained its charter.

Any member of a local union violating the laws of the local, when said laws are approved by the General Executive Board, can be disciplined to the extent of expulsion, if necessary, for the violation of said local laws. When a member, at the time he is initiated, takes the obligation he pledges himself to obey the laws of the local union and the International, and the violation of said laws subjects that individual to expulsion from membership, if the local union desires to impose such a penalty. The real soldier obeys the orders he receives from his superior officer. A true union man submits to the authority or the will and decision of the majority.

Official Magazine
of the
**International Brotherhood
of Teamsters, Chauffeurs
Stablemen and Helpers
of America**

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of
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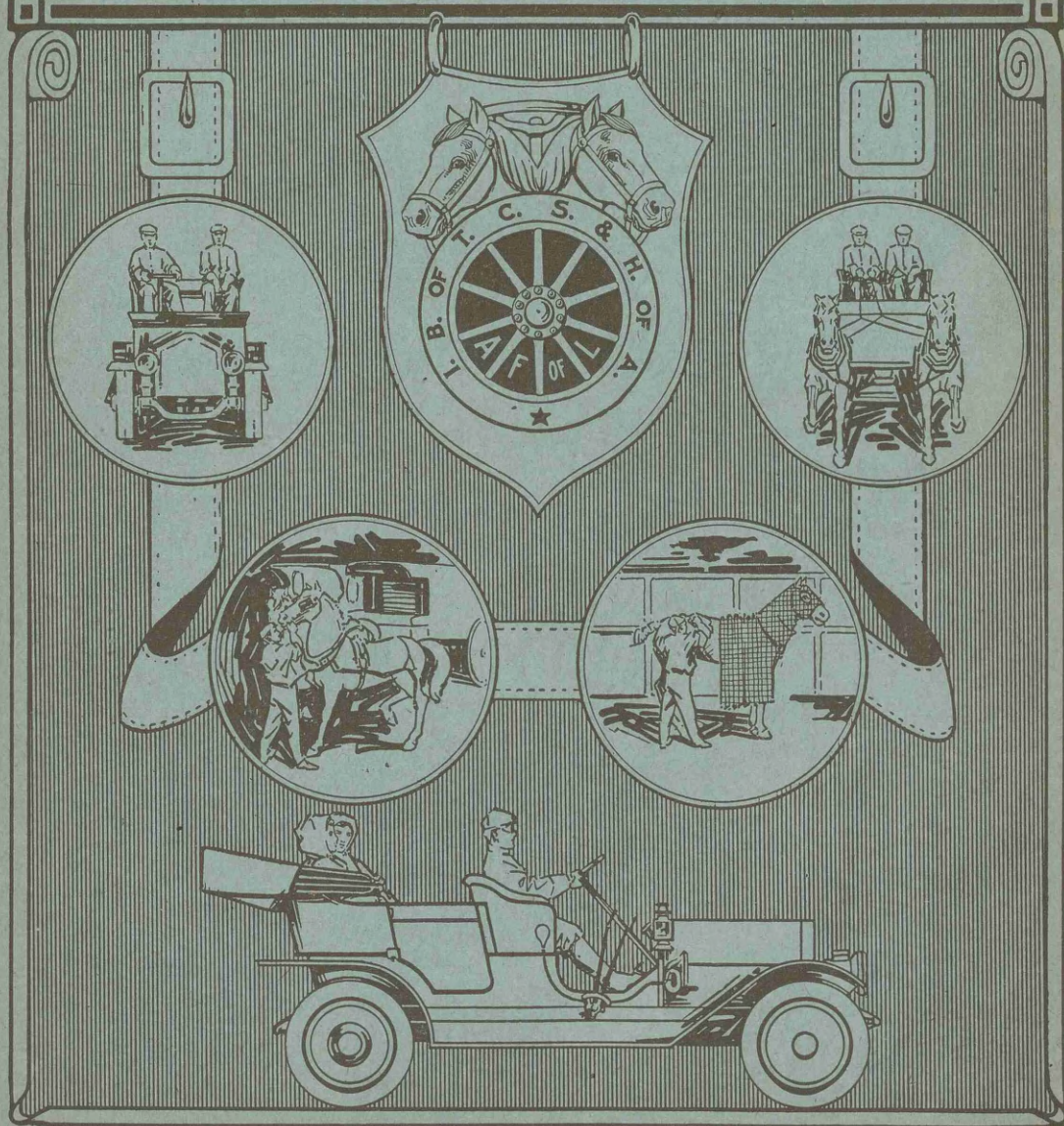
THOMAS L. HUGHES, Secretary

222 East Michigan Street

Indianapolis, Indiana

APRIL, 1921

OFFICIAL MAGAZINE OF INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD TEAMSTERS • CHAUFFEURS STABLEMEN AND HELPERS OF AMERICA



As a result of the fact that Local No. 273, because of the non-payment of its tax, became suspended from the International Union, William Kehoe, who was elected Trustee at the International Convention, was automatically removed as International Trustee, and William Niemeier, President of the Joint Council of Cincinnati, was appointed in his place to act as Trustee. Brother Niemeier is secretary-treasurer of the Milk Wagon Drivers' local in Cincinnati and is one of the untiring, honest, faithful workers who has helped to make our unions in that city the splendid organizations that they are.

Because of the fact that the Joint Council of New York City refused to obey the orders of the General Executive Board, the charter of the Joint Council was suspended by the International Board and the locals in that city that were affiliated with the Council are instructed to take up with the International Union all business that in the past was taken up with the Joint Council. The New York Joint Council will not be reorganized for some time. Local unions in Greater New York are advised that there is no body in New York representing the International Union just now except the local unions, and they will do business direct with the International Union. So-called Boards or Associations that might be in existence are illegal and unlawful, and those participating in such organizations who are members of our union are subject to suspension by the International Executive Board for such participation. Therefore, the writer advises officers of local unions not to answer any call or attend any meeting of any club or association composed of officers of local unions that might be congregating for the purpose of plotting and planning against the International Union.

Resist with all the power within your organization any reduction in wages. The International will render every assistance. The high cost of living has not dropped down to such an extent that we ought to be called upon to give up part of the small salaries that we are now enjoying and that we have wrung from the employers through the strength and solidarity of our local unions.

Unless where wages are not as good as they ought to be, serious consideration should be given the employers' position before anything is done that would increase the operating expense of the business.

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OPEN SHOP vs. UNION SHOP



OR several months a nation-wide campaign has been conducted by employers' associations, headed by the National Manufacturers' Association, on the issue of the "Open Shop in Industry." The assistance of the United States Chamber of Commerce and all its subordinate bodies from one end of the country to the other was enlisted in this campaign and as was to be naturally expected from the composition of the membership of Chambers of Commerce and Boards of Trade, this assistance was readily granted. The same can be said of the Bankers' Association. The organized labor movement of the country knows from experience what to expect from such bodies. A series of questions was submitted by the United States Chamber of Commerce to what the labor movement would term "its subordinate locals," putting them on record for or against the open shop, having a pretty accurate idea as to what their verdict would be, from bodies composed of employers, business and professional men, most of whom had never had organized labor's side of the case presented to them by those qualified to do so, their only source of information having been derived from a prejudiced public press or from paid press agents of employ-

ers' associations. The organized labor movement has never accepted the terms of "open shop" and "closed shop," for the simple reason that in actual practice such shops do not exist. What does exist is the union shop and the non-union shop. The employer, as a rule, dislikes these latter terms, so he coined the phrase of "open shop" and "closed shop," and then goes so far as to apply the misleading term of "American Plan" to the former and declares the latter un-American. Many years experience of the so-called "open shop" plan has proved conclusively that the term "closed shop" properly applies to the so-called "open shop," for the reason that it eventually becomes absolutely non-union and is then the real "closed shop"—closed to union men and women. There can be no industrial democracy in the non-union shop. The employer is absolute. He is judge, jury and hangman, if he cares to go that far, which many employers do in deciding what working conditions shall be. He autocratically sets the hours and wage scales and then says to his employes, if not in so many words, at least by his actions in posting notices: "These are the conditions, you may either accept them or quit." Sometimes the unorganized worker does quit, feeling he can not bear the burden any longer. When there is a surplus of help another unorganized worker takes his place and the injustice remains. Over three-quarters of a century of struggle between capital and labor has brought about a system of collective bargaining between organized employers and organized employes through representatives of their own choosing; the organized employers secure clever, brainy lawyers and others of high intelligence as their representatives, which they have a perfect right to do. The organ-

ized workers choose what they consider their brainiest and most experienced men as their representatives, which they have the same right to do. These representatives gather around the table with the sole object of arriving at agreements as to working conditions and wages which will be fair to both sides. And no one can truthfully say that this system has not saved the country from many industrial conflicts that meant millions of dollars of loss to capital and saved millions of workers and their wives and children from suffering and privation. With the "open shop" policy such achievements are impossible. No one with an ounce of intelligence will claim that this system of collective bargaining has been 100 per cent. successful. Neither can they deny that on many occasions it has averted many industrial conflicts, bringing labor and capital closer together.

Newfangled plans and systems are being patterned every day by so-called experts, some of whom are reaping a rich harvest of profit from employers. These schemes are of a wide scope, from a system whereby the whole of a plant is organized by the employer, patterned along the lines of our American form of government. There is a House of Representatives, a Senate Chamber and a Cabinet. The rank and file of the employes are members of the Lower House. The officials constitute the Senate and the owners of the plant or, if a company, the head officials of the plant, constitute the Cabinet. These respective bodies are supposed to deal jointly with all questions that might arise relative to wages and working conditions. The rules provide that any change in conditions can only be brought about by a majority vote of each of the three bodies. Any person of average intelligence can readily realize what

a fat chance the House of Representatives has of putting anything through which either a majority of the Senate, composed entirely of the bosses, or the members of the Cabinet, composed entirely of the owners and head officials, do not favor. How any intelligent wage workers can lend themselves to or become part of such schemes is beyond my comprehension. Then comes the smaller schemes, such as the formation of athletic associations for the male employes, and sometimes the female, the welfare organizations, etc., all of which are intended to divert the minds of the workers from organizing in the trade union movement. The wage worker does not want paternalism. The wage worker does not want welfare work, which, on the whole, is a system of coddling the worker, giving him the impression that he does not know how to take care of his own welfare and those depending upon him, and needs experts to do his thinking for him. In the union shop the worker knows he has a real voice in shaping the conditions under which he shall labor. The employer who advocates the "open shop" assumes the autocratic right to decide what is good and what is not good for the worker. He assumes the right of deciding what the price shall be for man's labor simply because it happens to be placed at his disposal. There is nothing fundamentally American about the "open shop" no more than there is anything fundamentally American about the owning of slaves. The slave owner took the position that being in his own opinion a good master, he should be absolute. The non-union employer assumes this position: "I protect my employes, therefore I must be absolute."

He preaches about the glory of independence, the tyranny of trades unions, while denying any form of independence to those

whom he employs. If there happens to be a number of employes in the so-called "open shop" who are members of a union it is only a short time before this union is destroyed through the system of spies and union-smashing agencies, which exists in every industrial town and city in the country. This "open shop" campaign has not fooled the organized workers one iota and is not fooling very many of the unorganized workers, who are rapidly joining the trade union movement. The average American worker is intelligent and knows how to take care of his own interests. He fully realizes that behind this nation-wide "open shop" campaign lies a deep-laid plot to annihilate trades unionism. I am not assuming to be a prophet, but I venture to prophesy this: For over seventy-five years the trade union movement in this country has grown and developed to its present high standard, steadily growing both numerically and in its economic influence. It has raised the standard of wages, reduced the hours of labor, taken little children out of the mill by the thousands, liberating them from industrial exploitation. In a word, it has raised the whole economic standard of the wage workers of the country. In seventy-five years from now it will still be in existence, greater and more potent than ever, the Manufacturers' Association, Chambers of Commerce and Boards of Trade notwithstanding. It is the duty of every member of organized labor to fight to the utmost this "open shop," "union smashing campaign" with all the vigor and energy at his command. And I feel assured that this will be done by every member of the United Textile Workers of America.

The right of organization, the right of collective bargaining, the right of the worker to have a voice as to how he shall dispose of his

labor, and at what price, the right of the worker to withhold his labor when conditions are not just, are God-given rights which no man or set of men can take from them.

When the war for world's democracy was fought and won it meant everything that the word "democracy" implied; it meant the wiping out of autocracy on the industrial economic field as well as in all other fields.—John Golden, International President United Textile Workers of America.

WHERE UNCLE SAM'S MONEY GOES



ACCORDING to the United States Bureau of Standards 93 cents out of every dollar of Uncle Sam's money this year goes for war, past, present or to come.

Only one cent out of every dollar goes for education and the improvement of the public health.

Copies of this remarkable analysis of our national budget may be secured on application to Dr. E. B. Rosa, United States Bureau of Standards, Washington, D. C.

Whereas the cities spend an average of \$6 per capita for education per year, and the states and private agencies about \$3 per year per capita for education, Uncle Sam with his huge billions only spends 6 cents per capita for education, and some of that goes to the "land grant" colleges for military drill.

Without anybody in the country realizing it, your Uncle seems to have become obsessed with militarism to the exclusion of the normal, balanced interests of government. Of course the truth is merely that the army and navy have developed a "technique" for extracting from Congress huge appropriations, whereas the other departments have not.

According to the analysis quoted above the national government is levying a tax of \$50 this year upon every man, woman and child in the United States, and of this amount \$46.50 goes for war and militarism.

Now on top of it that ex-actor, Congressman Julius Kahn of California, genially proposes a system of universal military training, which will cost the country, according to Congressman Mondell, the Republican floor leader and watchdog of the treasury, in the neighborhood of one billion dollars a year.—American Union Against Militarism.

LAYING THEM OFF

Mikey Fitzgerald worked for a big company and had worked for them for a long time through prosperity and depression, through good times and bad. A good many of the other employes came to depend on Mikey's judgment and predictions. Last week they were discussing the situation at the plant and they asked Mikey what he thought about it.

"Last night," answered Mikey, "I had a dream. I dreamed that the big boss croaked and they were makin' preparations for a grand funeral. Of course, they had big bugs for the honorary pall bearers, but they selected six huskies from the mixing floor to carry the corpse.

"After the undertaker had inspected to see that they had washed the backs of their necks and warned them not to spit on their hands before graspin' the silver handles, he served out the white cotton gloves and led them into the hall where the corpse was lyin' in state.

"Just as they lifted the fine mahogany coffin off the trestles, the big boss shoved back the glass plate and sat up.

"'Who are these six men?' he

asked in a voice tremblin' with rage. 'Sure you know them all,' says the undertaker. 'There's Denny Shea and Patsey Dolan and Emmett Dalton and Tony Mahafka and Corney Kinsella and the Greek Wop. They're your pall bearers.' 'Four is enough,' answers the big boss, 'lay two of them off'."

Mikey's dream wised the bunch that not even a pall bearer is immune from a lay off. Neither are you. It does not necessarily have to come from the boss, either. Sickness, or bad luck or old age or some other misfortune may take you off the pay roll at least temporarily.

There is only one way to provide against a lay off. That is to be prepared for it by having a cash reserve where you can get it when you need it. Scores of thousands of union men have got them. And they got them by putting aside a few dollars every week in One Dollar Treasury Savings Stamps and in Treasury Savings Certificates. Any one can get one that way, safely and easily and without deprivation or hardship.

It's never too late to start. One dollar when you have got a lay off is worth ten when you have a job.

—Buy W. S. S.—

LIVING COSTS AND THE "OPEN SHOP"

Figures compiled by the bureau of statistics of the department of labor at Washington show that in twelve months the cost of living in San Francisco has declined 1.4 per cent., while Los Angeles has increased it 6.2 per cent. In the same report government figures show that in six years Los Angeles has increased the cost of living 96.7 per cent. and San Francisco 85.1 per cent.

Los Angeles is the home of the open shop. Its wages all round are lower than San Francisco. Yet, according to government figures,

its prices are higher. San Francisco is a union city and its wages are higher than those of Los Angeles. Yet its cost of living is considerably less. Here is positive and absolute proof that organized labor does not cause an increase in the cost of living—but to the contrary.

This condition causes the Los Angeles Citizen to declare that no wonder the real estate sharks of the City of the Angels can toot their horn that they can make more in that city than elsewhere. The M. and M. are scientifically shown to be profiteers with a mental purpose of low wages and high prices. This scheme works out thusly—that the wives and daughters are compelled to work to augment the income of the family. The "Better America Federation" has a reason why it should avail itself of the schools to teach the new Americanism. In very deed it is the Bitter Unamerican Fakeration. — Typographical Journal.

The United States Commission on Industrial Relations, appointed by President Wilson several years ago, said that "The money with which the Rockefeller foundation was created and is maintained consists of the wages of workers in American industries. These wages are withheld by means of economic pressure, violation of law, cunning, and disorder, practiced over a series of years by the founder and certain of his business associates."

Even when tendered by smug philanthropy, institutions of learning ought to reject moneys that carry in their train apologetic defenses of the industrial regime under which such fortunes were accumulated and of the existing tax and property laws that make it possible for such wealth to remain in the control of a single family or a group of interlocking directorates composed of so-called "giants of industry."

EDITORIAL

(By Daniel J. Tobin)

THE industrial condition of our country is so bad that it is becoming dangerous. Everywhere men are threatened with reductions in wages, and everywhere men and women are out of employment. The question that confronts us is: Where is it all going to end? We are hopeful that everything will come out all right. Every man and woman in our country is entitled to an opportunity to work and live lives of free men and women; consequently, living in such a country and under such a constitution, no matter how black the cloud that hovers over us seems to be, we are always filled with that eternal hope that undoubtedly conditions are going to improve before very long. Not so very long ago charges were made by the enemies of the toilers of the country that the thing we needed was production, and then more production. They said the workers were slacking up and not doing a day's work. Those of you who read our Journal at that time will remember that I strongly protested against such arguments, said they were not true; that they were not statements of fact, and I recited instances where we were doing, under our modern methods, much more work than we did ten or twelve years ago. If you will remember, I wrote an article in the Journal in which I stated that there was as much coal being hauled and delivered now in one day by one thousand men in the large industrial centers as could be hauled and delivered in two days some few years ago, as a result of the introduction into modern life of the motor truck. The same is true of every other branch of industry. But the enemies of Labor kept on charging us with being slackers. What is the result now? Are we slackers now, with four million men and women seeking work but cannot find it? I think the trouble has been that we were overproducers during the war, and now we are overstocked with products of every kind. There is not a shoe factory in the country which has not hundreds of cases of shoes in the storehouses. The same is true of the clothing industry. The auto manufacturers of the country have hundreds of thousands of machines waiting for buyers, and so on down the line. In every industry their storehouses are packed with products manufactured by the toilers. During the past winter workers out of employment did not groan so much under the burden of idleness. The elements to some extent favored the poor people because it was quite a mild winter, and then nearly every little family or worker saved up during the years of plenty, during the war, and they had that money to spend this last winter; but if this condition prevails next winter, their little treasuries will be depleted. In my judgment there will be plenty of unemployment next winter and then we may look for discontent and misery, much more of it than we had this past winter. There is something wrong—radically wrong—that must be righted. In his great country of ours, teeming with plenty, our soil so rich that it is capable of producing four times more than we need for our own use, under the surface, teeming with minerals of every description; our climate tropical in one place and moderately cool in another section; all the gifts that nature could endow one people with; we have all the best things in the world in this glorious country of ours, still we find suffering; yes, unnecessary suffering, resulting

principally from unemployment. One of the things that must be done before we can materially relieve the situation in our country is, that the European condition must be adjusted. While all of those countries over there are fighting amongst themselves as they are now, there is not much chance for us to have much business in our country. We manufacture and produce in this country about 40 per cent. more than we need for our own consumption; therefore we must find a foreign market. At the present time Europe cannot buy because the value of their money has gone down so low that it is practically no good to us. If those countries would get to work and try to produce the things we might purchase from them, then we might get back to what Mr. Harding calls normalcy. But while they have disturbances and wrangling amongst themselves, with no settlement of national affairs, we may rest assured there will be no such thing as a stable or satisfactory settlement of conditions here. I do not care what you say about the League of Nations, or any other league, in my judgment it is a standing board of arbitration, and if arbitration is good for the great industrial disturbances in our country, then it is good, or ought to be good, in settling questions between nations. It is true there may be some flaws in it, but they could be adjusted in time. Until there is some such board or league over there which will render decisions and prevent nations from fighting and quarreling there will be no peace. You may rest assured that sooner or later they are going to reach this decision, and then they are going to establish an international court of arbitration, or a league of nations, or something called under some other name, which will settle international questions and undoubtedly lead us back to where we ought to be long before this time; that is, to real, substantial peace. If the United States Senate had entered into this agreement last year we would not be experiencing the industrial conditions that we are now passing through. As soon as Europe reaches this decision or agreement our country must get into it, and then it will take perhaps a year or two before conditions will be much improved. But the sooner an understanding amongst the nations of the world is reached the sooner will conditions improve; there is no chance for anything like permanent improvement industrially until such an understanding obtains.

"Hope springs eternal in the human breast," but some one else said, "He that lives upon hope will die fasting." So what are you going to do? I say, keep on hoping but working all the time for better things, for a better life, for more happiness, for greater brotherhood and good will. Through your union those things can be accomplished.

A NEW graft has been started by a number of men who have banded themselves together in an insurance company intended to extract a lot of money (and undoubtedly they will be somewhat successful) from a number of innocent employers. It is called the Employers' Mutual Insurance and Service Company, Maryland Trust Building, Baltimore, Md., with about twenty labor haters, or unfair employers, acting as directors. The purpose of this insurance company is to insure corporations and all kinds of concerns and employers against strikes. The rates, of course, are moderately low to begin with, but like the insurance on automobiles or against burglary, the experts will gradually raise them from year to year until they get the rate to a high or satis-

factory position, so that the bunch back of it will scoop in an enormous amount of money. The idea of trying to insure against strikes a team owner whose men are organized and who has never had the least trouble or misunderstanding with the union! It certainly looks like serving notice that an attempt is going to be made to start or cause some discontent within that employment, which perhaps will eventually lead to a strike. An employer that runs a non-union plant does not need any insurance against a strike, for from his point of view there is no danger of a strike, because his men are not bossed around by so-called agitators, therefore he would be foolish to pay expensive insurance, although from our point of view, as was proven on more than one occasion during the war, there are more strikes amongst the unorganized workers than amongst the organized workers. The danger confronting labor organizations and employers is this: That an insurance company of this kind may have its agents or hirelings holding membership in the union and they will endeavor to cause or bring about misunderstandings, which may lead to strikes in certain firms where said firms have never had any trouble with the union. We all know what the spy or private detective does for the employer. We all know the millions that have been taken from employers by those private detective agencies, because they have been clever enough to deceive the employer into believing that they can find out and furnish him with valuable information as to what is going on on the inside of the union. Employers have eaten this kind of stuff and paid out large sums of money for it, and it would be much better had they thrown their money into the fire, because the private detective or spy goes into a union, becomes a member, and if there is no trouble he immediately starts trouble by denouncing the employer, by appealing to the passions of the men, and eventually after weeks or months is successful in establishing a bitterness or hatred against this employer. If it is impossible for him to bring about a strike, because he finds it impossible to deceive the majority, he furnishes his superiors with a report that is ninety per cent. false, and his firm in turn furnishes the employer with this report, and in every instance, the report shows that a serious attack was made against the employer at the union meeting. Many of those detective or spy agencies have come to the unions and told them they would furnish information as to what went on in the employers' meetings. You see, they work both ends and the middle.

A great many people believe that when there are no fires insurance companies send their agents out to start fires so that they may have an excuse for increasing the fire insurance rates. Also there are those who believe that insurance companies have been encouraging the theft of automobiles so that they might obtain higher rates for insurance against theft. It also usually happens that when a great many fires take place or a great many automobiles are stolen, people rush to take out insurance. Now this new company that insures against strikes, if they can have a strike pulled in some small concern, and they reimburse the concern to the extent of their loss caused by the strike, all of the big employers in the district will know about it and they will immediately insure against strikes. The insurance company will perhaps start some agent of theirs in a non-union concern who will make an attempt to organize the employees in a certain industry, then they will send anonymous letters to the employer, stating that his employees are organizing and he had better beware, get under cover, protect himself

with insurance; and you would be surprised to know how thin skinned many employers are, and how they live in continual fear of strikes.

The following is copied from a booklet sent out by this new company:

"Accurate records of twenty-five years show that each succeeding five-year cycle has found our industries harassed by: (1) An increased per cent. of strikes; (2) by an increased per cent. of employees involved; (3) by increased duration of strikes, and (4) by a correspondingly increased financial loss to employers, wage earners and the public.

"This can be done only by calling strikes in open and non-union shops, upon demands for recognition of unionism.

"Marked progress by federated labor has always been accompanied by a heavy increase in strike frequency. Comparative calculations, therefore, indicate the probability of more than 110,000 strikes during the ensuing five-year cycle, unless employers meet the situation with a well-defined plan and consistently adhere to it without fear of individual loss.

"No employer will tolerate the un-American closed shop unless compelled to accept such conditions after losing a strike conducted by a superior organization led by resourceful leaders, or because of his unwillingness to fight for the open-shop principle upon which will finally depend the industrial supremacy of this nation.

"The only hope of stabilizing industrial condition lies in: (1) Organization having a definite objective; (2) adherence to a well-devised plan, and (3) reimbursement of members for loss sustained through resistance of illegitimate demands, from a fund contributed by employers in all sections and industries.

"It is unfair and illogical to expect any employer to fight for a principle which benefits all other employers at his own cost. Few have done so, and upon this fact and the absence of a strong organization rests the success of organized labor.

"Leaders of labor thoroughly understand the selfishness and timidity of employers; they usually know where, when and how to use their organized strength upon the weak spots among the disorganized employers.

"Concessions to illegitimate demands are permanently injurious not only to the employer who weakly and selfishly concedes, but to all other employers and to labor as well.

"Bolshevism is only sublimated trade unionism in its nth power. Lenine admits having secured his plans from the I. W. W. Few outside the secret service realize the spread of radicalism. Conservative labor leaders do not believe in red doctrines, but, apparently, do not realize they are leading in that direction.

"Labor now demands continuous employment, reasoning that it can be created for all by reduced working hours and further limitation of production per man."

The statement then leads on to a request to the employers to protect themselves by insuring against strikes. The following is a copy of a letter which explains itself:

"General Office American Type Founders Company,
Jersey City, N. J., July 28, 1920.

The Officers Employers Mutual Insurance and Service Company,
Maryland Trust Building, Baltimore, Md.:

Gentlemen—We wish to acknowledge the satisfactory manner in

which you settled our claim under our policy, No. 307, covering our recent two weeks' strike, and we thank you for your promptness in remitting the amount due us.

I believe a policy in your company will not only prevent strikes in a very large number of cases, but I believe that it will tend materially to shorten strikes when they do occur.

If the employers of the country will protect themselves with strike insurance, I believe that course will greatly reduce the number of strikes, and to a large extent stabilize industrial conditions.

Yours truly,

American Type Founders Company,
R. W. Nelson, President."

Underneath the letter is a check for \$15,600 which was paid to the above company in a strike. The insurance company is using this, and other letters, for advertising purposes and undoubtedly the employers are eating it up and falling like dead flies for this scheme, which, in my personal judgment, is a gigantic swindle. Many of you will from now on, perhaps, hear your employers say: Well, if you want to go on strike, go on; we are insured against all losses. This so-called insurance will have a tendency to create a false feeling of independence in the minds of many fair employers which will widen the breach between unions that are trying to be right and employers who have always been right. There is no insurance company that can return the business lost as the result of a strike. They may pay the concern actual profits lost during the four or five weeks of the strike until the strike is declared off or a settlement is reached, but what about the business lost in the meantime that can never be recovered? Consider for instance, the Jewel Tea Company that lost millions in business and can never recover the good-will, that meant trade, that it lost because of the action of its impractical manager who refused to listen to reason and brought about trouble for the company. Take two master bakers, should one of them be insured and have trouble with his men, the public does not want any strike-breakers coming to their door delivering bread or cake, and if there are no strike-breakers, the small stores will buy their supplies from the concern that has its wagons on the street, and when the trouble is over they usually stick with the man who supplied them when there was a shortage. Now, there is no chance whatever for the insurance company to return to that baker the trade he lost as a result of the strike. In the case of the Buck Stove & Range Company, I heard their president, Mr. Gardner, make the following statement in the St. Louis convention of the American Federation of Labor in 1910: "There is no possible chance for us to ever get back where we were before. I am asking organized labor to try to help us recover a little of the good-will and the patronage that we lost. It was a great mistake to have the strike. Were I president of the company at the time of that strike, it would never have taken place." Mr. Gardner succeeded Mr. VanCleve, who has since passed away and who was responsible practically for the destruction of the business of the Buck Stove and Range Company by bringing about a strike. And so it is all through time: employers can not recover loss in business resulting from strikes. For instance, how can an insurance company replace the organization among the workers within the shop? It has taken years to get the employment with its two, three or four hundred men to working satisfactorily; every man in his proper place; superintendent, manager and foreman understanding the qualities of each individual;

a business built up to the highest point of efficiency; those men go on strike; they are out for six weeks or three months; the strike is called off, or supposed to be won by the employers; many of the men find employment elsewhere; they leave town or go to work for some other employer; a few of the old-timers come back broken in spirit, disgusted, hating their employers; not willing to do as much as they used to do; sick at heart. The employer, on the other hand, is also disgusted and disheartened, so that company will not get back to where it was before for a number of years. Take into consideration also the fact that perhaps the company has lost some of its best trade.

After you read this article, those of you who can possibly do so caution and advise your employers to keep away from insurance companies of the above type, because they will be throwing away good money after bad money. It will be a case of fleecing the honest employer, and if they are given any encouragement they will undoubtedly use every means in their power to broaden the gulf between capital and labor.

RECENTLY some of the hotels in Washington, D. C., were raided by the prohibition officers for liquors. In many of them they found a considerable quantity of so-called whiskey. This liquid was taken to the office of the prohibition agents and a chemical analysis of same was made by an expert chemist. In a few days a statement came out, issued by the chief of the prohibition enforcement law, stating that this fluid, or so-called whiskey, was made of wood alcohol, ether and some coloring substance, that it was almost deadly poison and how any man could live after drinking some of it it was impossible for him to understand; indeed, that it was surprising to him that any human being could swallow a drink of this stuff and not become blind or die immediately from poison. This stuff was being sold for about \$20 a quart by the bell boys and porters around the hotel and the management of the hotels, of course, disclaimed any knowledge of its existence, and got away with that kind of bluff.

My reason for writing this article is to warn our people against the use of stimulants, or so-called stimulants of this kind. Nearly all the stuff now purchased called whiskey is just a fake or phony, or, in other words, just imitation whiskey, and in almost every instance is poisonous. Those who seem to know, claim that there are several garages and other places in and around Greater New York, where this stuff is being manufactured daily and sold immediately after it is manufactured. Of course, it is made from chemicals that are poisonous and the unsuspecting guests in the hotels and other places are buying this stuff and many a man is passing away as a result of drinking it and his death is attributed to other causes. In many instances blindness and paralysis prevail as a result of drinking this liquid or so-called whiskey. Not only should the government endeavor to suppress the manufacture of this liquor, but the government should find out the parties who sell this poison and in every instance where a man dies or becomes blind from drinking it, the individual selling it should be charged with murder, because when a man sells poison, although called by another name, and some unsuspecting, unfortunate person partakes of the poison, the party selling it is directly responsible for the death of that individual. If the hotels and other places were held responsible for the individuals working for them, they would perhaps hire a better class of workers. We hear that

there are some policemen engaged in the traffic of this liquor as "fences." If a ruling was laid down by the attorney-general that all those selling liquor which might cause a person's death would be charged with murder, it would quickly eliminate some of those who are making enormous profits on it at the present time. It costs them less than one dollar a quart to make this poison and they sell it for a price ranging from \$15 to \$25 and \$30 a quart. Many of those handling it in large cities are getting rich, becoming wealthy by their murder game. Nearly all of the old whiskey that was on the market has been used up or taken up by the government or by wealthy individuals, who were able to buy and store it away. The stuff offered for sale today to the average working man is deadly poison and when a man raises a drink of that poison to his lips he is, in nearly every instance, attempting to destroy himself. It is like taking a gun and placing it against a man's head to blow his brains out; the only chance of escape that he has is if the gun misses fire. If the person does not die immediately from this bootleg whiskey he may do so in a few days, as the internal serious effects are sometimes not noticeable for a week or two and perhaps a month, but the individual taking this deadly poison into his system is undoubtedly going to pay the price either by blindness, paralysis, softening of the brain, or in some other serious manner.

So beware! Don't drink any of this new so-called whiskey even if you are invited to do so by a friend who tells you it is the real stuff. (The real stuff is almost impossible to find.) Don't take any chances. Be careful. You can not get your sight back if you go blind. I could recite a few cases of our members in different parts of the country who have suffered, and in some cases died, from this poison, but it would not be fair to them or their families. The only way to be absolutely safe is not to touch any of it.

THE railroad managements of the country have notified the railroad organizations that they are going to put into practice a general reduction in wages beginning some time in April; this in defiance of the laws enacted by Congress. You will remember when the Esch-Cummins bill creating the Railroad Wage Board was up, that the railroads favored this bill and that labor unions opposed it, because there were clauses in it that we objected to—principally the clause that attempted to prevent us from striking. However, the bill became a law and the Railroad Wage Board was appointed and its work has been very satisfactory. The board thoroughly investigated the condition of the workers and gave them such raises in wages as they deemed absolutely necessary. The Interstate Commerce Commission on the suggestion of the Railroad Wage Board, resulting from the action of the board in increasing wages, granted to the railroads an increase in rates both in passenger and freight service, almost the amount they asked, so that the increase in wages granted the men was not taken from the railroads or the stockholders, but was taken from the public. Now we find the railroads bellowing from the house tops that they are on the verge of bankruptcy because of the wages paid their employes, and they want to set aside, or defeat, or destroy the usefulness of the Wage Board. Well, if they can destroy the Railroad Wage Board, created at their own suggestion practically, then they will next destroy the Interstate Commerce Commission, or defy it, and then they will go on and endeavor to destroy any other act of our government.

This is a desperate situation. What if the labor unions had attempted to defy or destroy the laws properly enacted? Many times we have been driven to the point of almost disregarding the law when adverse decisions have been rendered against us by the courts' misinterpreting, or some judge misinterpreting the law as enacted, but we have never said to our people: Go out and defy the law and destroy the courts of the country. We have, as American citizens, obeyed the law, respected the courts and have said to our people: Let us in a lawful way endeavor to remedy the wrongs against which we are struggling. Still, we are charged by the United States Chamber of Commerce, by employers' associations, by their hirelings and paid lobbyists, both in and around the legislative halls, and in the colleges of our country, which are endowed by the millionaires, of being the enemies of our present form of civilized government. We are not the enemies of our legal institutions, but we are human beings and we feel the stings of the enemy and we will always resent the injustice heaped upon us.

If the railroad brotherhoods submit to a reduction in wages, submit to the setting aside of the decisions of the Railroad Wage Board by the railroad managements, then they deserve to lose their organizations. The railroad companies are trying to split the workers by insisting that reductions now obtain amongst the unskilled workers; they do not intend immediately to put into practice a reduction against the engineers, firemen, conductors, telegraphers, etc. Of course, the brotherhoods are running their own organizations; they have a right to do as they see fit, but if they allow themselves to be split, if they allow their weakest organizations to suffer, they may rest assured that the time will come when the rest of the members will have to pay the price. If the railroad workers of this country will refuse to submit to a violation of their contract; a reduction in wages, which was awarded them after proper investigation as to their needs by the Railroad Wage Board, again I say, in time the railroad companies will destroy the usefulness of the wonderful organizations that have done so much for the membership.

If the railroad organizations of this country will refuse to accept, will refuse to allow a reduction in wages to be put into effect and will go on strike, in two weeks they will have the industries of this country crying for a settlement and the railroad managements will be made to answer for their utter defiance of law and order. The railroad organizations have it in their power to win and settle the question themselves. The strike a short time ago of the switchmen, a rump organization, so called, an organization that was not recognized by the trade union movement, where a few men here and there were on strike, pretty nearly paralyzed the industry of the country. Although the railroad brotherhoods denounced the strike, the railroad managements condemned the strike, the national government condemned it, and the trade union movement in general was against it, still those men went out on strike and pretty nearly crippled conditions in New York, Boston and other places. What could not be done by a strike of all of the legitimate railroad organizations? It seems that sooner or later the railroad companies are going to force a strike on the brotherhoods, and it might just as well come now as at any other time. I never advocate strikes. I have always opposed a strike except as a last alternative. I think the brotherhoods have reached the point where they must say to the public: We may be forced to make the innocent suffer; we may be forced to go out on strike, but it is our only salvation; it is our only way out of it, as the railroad

companies are trying to destroy our organizations, and against our will we are compelled to resist a reduction in wages, so there is nothing left for us but to strike.

Of course I am looking at this case from the position of a labor official not connected with the brotherhoods. The heads of those organizations know their business, but seeing it with my eyes, I can see victory for the brotherhoods, which means that they can not only preserve the law, maintain their conditions, but they can strengthen and stabilize their organization and settle for this generation at least any attempt that might be made by the railroad companies to destroy their organization.

THE SAFEGUARD

Some one has assured us that "the middle classes are the safeguard of a nation," but we pity any nation that has no better safeguard.

Did you ever find a member of the middle class that was not in a hurry to get out of it and reach a higher level of social existence? We never did.

The middle class is the most restless element in modern society, and, therefore, constitutionally unfit to be the safeguard of anything.

The safeguard of a nation is the great army of its workers, the host of the producers of all the material and ideal values upon which the existence of society depends.

In peace and in war, in sunshine and in rain, you may always count upon the working people. They are the supporters of state and society, they are the great reservoir of strength, productive power, virility and energy; they are the men and women who safeguard the human race from degeneration and utter physical and moral corruption.

They have their faults, of course; they often do not know what they ought to do; they often allow themselves to be misled by those whose duty it ought to be to show them the right way. They are often brutal and cruel and given to excesses when stupid prejudices get the best of them.

But treat them fair, educate them, humanize their conditions of

life, and there is no sacrifice they are not willing to make for the social ideals that appeal to their sense of justice.

The world rests upon the broad, strong shoulders of labor. The working people are the safeguards of nations; they are the pillars of society.—New Age.

MACHINISTS' INSURANCE PLAN

The establishment of an insurance department by the International Association of Machinists has been placed before the membership, and a referendum vote is being taken, the result of which will determine whether or not it will become a fraternal organization in all the term implies as well as a great trade union. Under the proposed plan, which the Machinists' Monthly Journal says will be undoubtedly adopted, every member may carry life insurance up to an amount of \$2,000, without medical examination and regardless of present age, at a fixed rate of 50 cents per month for every \$500 of insurance.

The only compulsory feature about the plan is that a member shall carry \$500 of insurance. It is entirely optional with a member to increase this amount \$250 each year until the policy amounts to \$2,000. This is not an unreasonable requirement, particularly in view of the fact that it will cost only \$6 per year.

CORRESPONDENCE



PORTLAND, MAINE

Mr. D. J. Tobin, Indianapolis, Ind.:

Dear Sir and Brother—We are still on the firing line. Recently we added several members to our union, and to show some of our readers we still have a little pep and kick, we arranged a concert and dance and added a few greenbacks to our strong box. All of the old reliables were present and all enjoyed themselves on union music. At our last meeting we elected a manager of the baseball team for the coming summer, “yours truly,” and we still claim we are the only teamsters’ baseball team on the map; so if any of our brother members want to stack up against us just get their S. O. S. apparatus in working order at once. We have not many members at our craft loafing as yet, as no doubt we are distant relatives of Rip Van Winkle or carry a rabbit’s foot around with us. Several contractors have got together on that Adam and Eve plan and have elected officers, etc., but, believe me, our members are watching their steps and doing the “Sherlock Holmes” all the time. We met the coal dealers in conference and the sentiment was “stand pat,” and as we have a few Patricks in our local, they are standing and watching. Our commercial drivers’ division are lining up the trenches, as you know we are a mixed local. At present we pay whenever we hear the fiddler “rosin his bow” and dance afterward—the moral works better. The attendance at our meetings are good and we do business right, and since they jammed the cover on it’s dry as a covered bridge in June, but we get a peep at the steamers that bring

the fluid in for Canada, as this is a “seaport city.”

Hoping to see some other ink dashers’ names in the Journal, I am, the Down East scribbler.

Fraternally yours,

WALTER S. JOHNSON,

Rec. Sec. Local 418.

CHAMPAIGN, ILL.

Mr. D. J. Tobin, Indianapolis, Ind.:

Dear Sir and Brother—I take great pleasure in reading our Journal and thinking, perhaps, I might be allowed a little space in the columns of the next issue, I am writing this short article to give you some idea of how No. 443 is getting along.

To start with we had to work in a field that had never been organized before and, while the majority of the men were anxious to see the movement started, it took quite a long time to get some of them to see the light and understand that they had some rights that the boss should respect. At present we have a membership of around 280, scattered among the taxi drivers, truck drivers and teamsters. With the coal firms we control about 90 per cent. of the men in the Twin Cities; with the grocers, about 85 per cent.; with the transfer companies and excavators, about 90 per cent., and with the building material men, 90 per cent. This being the home of the University of Illinois, with eight thousand students here from all parts of the world, they furnish the taxi owners the bulk of their business and, as a class, they never concern themselves about whether the man who drives them wears the button or not, and for this reason bosses are pretty independent. Still we have

a few men with each firm and hope to get them all in time. If arrangements could be made whereby we could hold membership in the B. T. C. it is my opinion it would be only a short time until No. 443 would be 100 per cent.

Not wishing to take up too much space with my first attempt, I will close. Fraternally,

M. D. CAMPBELL,
Business Agent.

CATHOLIC BOARD ASSAILS "OPEN SHOP"

Washington, D. C.

A reply to criticisms of its declaration on the "open shop" movement was issued tonight by the social action department of the National Catholic war council reaffirming its assertion that this movement, as conducted by "certain groups of strong employers," is an "attempt to cripple labor unions."

"The vital issue of this controversy," the reply issued tonight declared, "is that of collective bargaining between the union and the employer. Unless the members of a union are permitted to deal with the employer as a body, their union membership is futile.

"An 'open shop' which allows the employes to belong to a union, but does not permit the union to deal with the employer as a union, is worthless. Not only has no 'open shop' organization declared that the 'open shop' employer would deal with the union, but every such organization that has confessed its attitude has admitted that this practice would not be countenanced."

History is a mighty drama, enacted upon the theater of Time, with suns for lamps, and Eternity for a background.—Carlyle.

In the union the workman can drive the best possible bargain in the sale of his labor power.

AT THE TOP

Whenever you see some one up at the top,

Don't imagine he got there by luck,

For back of his glory lies many a story

Of battle and struggle and pluck;
He may seem to be taking things easy today

And dodging the trials which irk,
But the years of his past, from the first to the last,

Were a constant succession of work.

Whenever you see some one crowned by success,

Don't fancy he won it by chance;
Though he's walking today on an easier way,

And you cannot behold with a glance

The stars of his battle, just keep this in mind—

Life's laurels don't go to the shirk,

And if you but knew his life history through,

You'd know that he once had to work.

Success doesn't come to the indolent hand,

With busy men life is concerned;
Be the man who he may, he will find the way

That its prizes all have to be earned,

So whenever you gaze on a leader of men,

Up on top where the glory is fair,
You can know with his luck there were courage and pluck—

You can bet that he worked to get there.

—Edgar A. Guest.

"Teach our children to think in terms of humanity rather than of dollars and of cents," was one of the recommendations of the Central Labor Union's committee on education, Everett, Washington.

Stand by your union with all the force there is in you. There never was such need as there is now for your faithful adherence to the principles of trade unionism. Look at the unorganized, where they stand. They have no protection, no one to lead them, no one to advise them. As individuals they have no more strength than a spider. Organized and standing together we may be able to resist the destructive actions of the Employers' Associations that are trying to strangle the unions that have done so much for us. It is up to you to refuse to allow them to destroy the union. Stand by the organization now. You know what it has done for you. You know the conditions of slavery with which we were surrounded before we had a union. Do not go back to that slavery, but back you will surely go unless you fight faithfully for your organization and bring in every man on the outside. Above all, let peace and harmony prevail in your organization. Support and encourage the officers who are now working for you. They have a hard task to perform to offset the arguments of the employers. Do not make it harder by trying to find fault with their work. Help them, advise them, and encourage them. The officer that is not doing his duty, remove him. But at this time let us all stand together in defense of the house we all helped to build up.

Official Magazine
of the
**International Brotherhood
of Teamsters, Chauffeurs
Stablemen and Helpers
of America**

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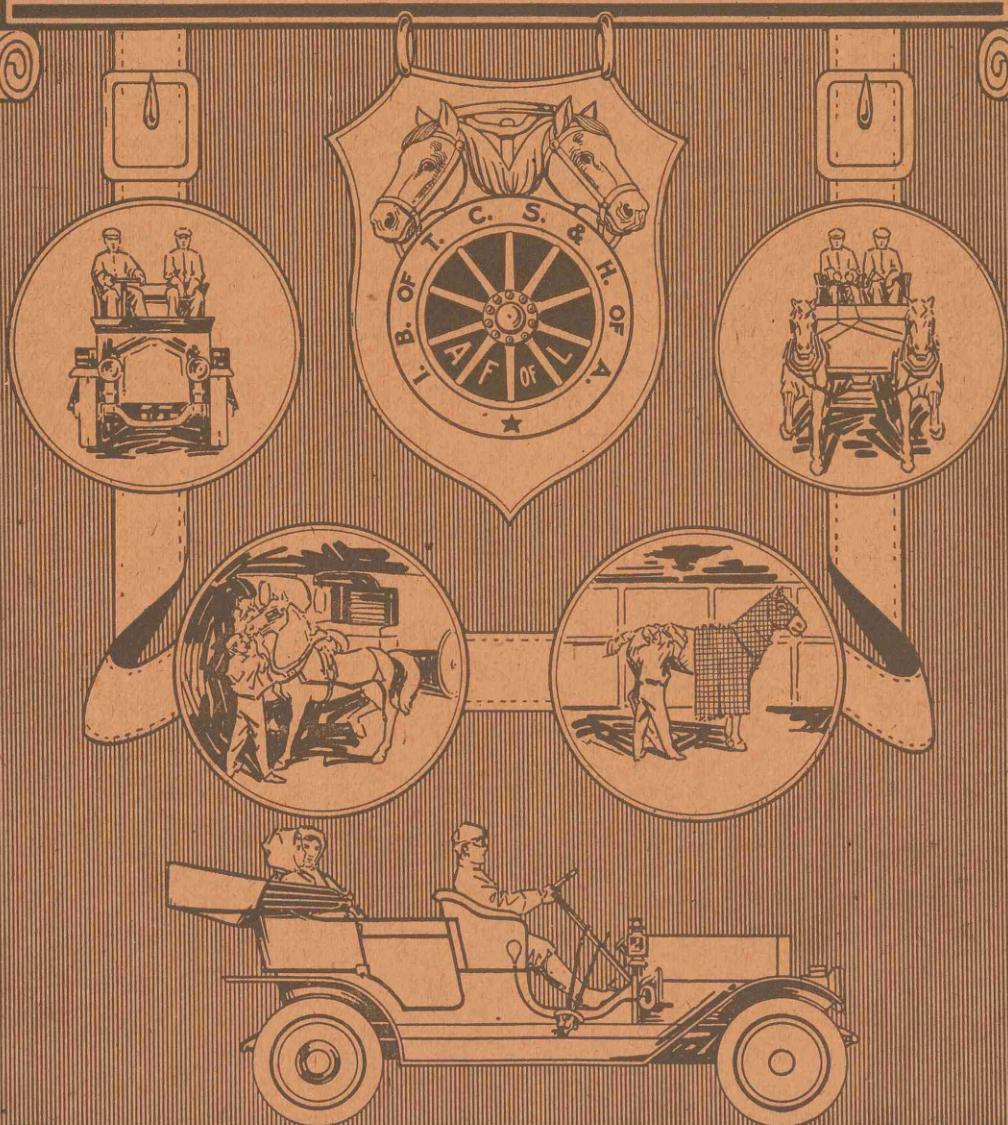
THOMAS L. HUGHES, Secretary

222 East Michigan Street

Indianapolis, Indiana

MAY, 1921

OFFICIAL MAGAZINE OF INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD TEAMSTERS • CHAUFFEURS STABLEMEN AND HELPERS OF AMERICA



On my recent visit to New York City I found conditions in the milk wagon drivers' local much better than they were a short time ago. Peace and harmony seems to be prevailing. The local union, however, has such an enormous membership—about nine thousand—that it is pretty hard to handle them in one organization. My judgment is when an organization has a membership of over three thousand that it is almost impossible for one set of officers to handle it and no set of officers can handle nine thousand members. Sometime in the future the International organization may consider the advisability of separating the organization into different sections, each section with a separate set of officers, those officers to have full control over the local's affairs, but working jointly in the presentation of agreements and all agreements must be equal. There is no hall in New York large enough to hold nine thousand members, except, perhaps, Madison Square Garden, and to hold a meeting there costs the organization about two thousand dollars, and then if one of the members is speaking on the floor the chairman or those on the platform cannot hear or understand his statements. While speaking from the platform, with the sounding facilities, the platform speakers can be heard, but those speaking from the floor cannot be heard on the platform, except those very close to the platform, and where a matter of importance is under discussion it is necessary that all speakers be heard.

However, this is only a thought which runs through the mind of the General President from observations obtained while in New York, as a result of the misunderstandings existing in the milk wagon drivers' union within the last eight or nine months. If it ever comes to pass that the local is divided into sections, it will take some time from now to adjust matters properly. The International organization has only one object, and that is to do that which is for the best interest of the general membership everywhere.

Auditor Briggs is still in New York acting as receiver for the milk wagon drivers' union and, with the assistance of Vice-President Cashal, is doing splendid work. In the arbitration proceedings last January the men received the same wage scale as last year. Judging from conditions now existing even though the decision was considered as against the men at the time it was rendered, it is indeed fortunate now that an agreement was reached.

The battle of endeavoring to destroy the unions of workers throughout the country still goes on, but, like all other unjust campaigns that have been waged against the masses, it will not succeed. The workers in the end will win. The best thing for the workers to do is to stick to their union and try to spur up every one that is now falling behind so that we may hold up the strength of our unions. If we do not, the other side will undoubtedly win.

— OFFICIAL MAGAZINE — INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF TEAMSTERS CHAUFFEURS STABLEMEN AND HELPERS.



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ONWARD THE COURSE OF LABOR WORKS ITS WAY



JUDGE GARY, who is chairman of the finance committee of the U. S. Steel Corporation, has announced that the corporation has discontinued the

seven-day week and the "long turn" by which workers were compelled to work a twenty-four-hour day at each change of twelve-hour shifts. It is further declared that the steel trust may discontinue the twelve-hour day in the near future and put its entire plant on the eight-hour basis.

Thirty-nine per cent. of the employes of the United States Steel Corporation work eleven hours or more per day, which means that part of that time they work eleven hours per day and part of the time thirteen hours per day, the difference depending upon whether they are working day shift or night shift.

The steps already taken by the steel trust toward the elimination of brutal and inhuman conditions are highly significant and if it goes a step further and eliminates the twelve-hour day, much will have been accomplished toward making the mills and plants of the steel trust fit places in which human beings may work.

This improvement in conditions of employment in the steel trust is

due to the growing pressure of trade unionism and though he may deny it, Judge Gary has to that extent yielded to the protests of the labor movement.

When trade unionism first began to function, when it first began to call attention to the evils in industry, to unbearable conditions and to injustices that existed, it began to build up in the minds of thinking persons a moral force operating against the continuance of injustice.

From the moment of its first protest the labor movement began to align with it those whose minds were open to the concept of justice and fairness.

The steel trust in now correcting some of its most glaring evils is acting in response to the great resentment that has come into being against arbitrarily imposed injustices of that kind and it is acting under the direct power and influence of the trade union movement.

The force that has compelled the steel trust to abolish that which it has always hitherto said could not be abolished is distinctly a labor force and is a tribute to the righteousness of labor's protest and to the strength of its position. It is testimony unimpeachable that labor's position has been sound both morally and industrially.

Undoubtedly Judge Gary hopes that the action of the steel trust in eliminating some of the more serious and inexcusable abuses may help to retard the growth of trade unionism in the steel industry. Judge Gary opposes trade unionism in the steel industry because he fears it and because he does not understand it. If he understood trade unionism he would fear the consequences of being without it in the steel industry. Judge Gary knows steel as a metal much better than he knows the mass of humanity that makes steel.

Hopeful as it is to see the seven-day week and the "long turn" abol-

ished in the steel industry, and hopeful as we may be that the twelve-hour day may also disappear, the steel industry cannot protect and perpetuate the practice of autocratic control merely by means of these alleviations. With added time to think, and with added time to come together and discuss problems, the workers in the steel industry are much more likely to devote their thought to human welfare and to the liberation of human beings than they are to devote their thought solely to the welfare and profit of Mr. Gary. They are likely to see that the democratic concept pervades the institutions around them and to seek ways and means of introducing that concept into the place where it is most vital to them in their daily lives—their place of employment.

For the sake of immediate physical well-being of those involved, a benevolent feudalism is undoubtedly more to be desired than a feudalism that is not benevolent, but in the minds of those who have come to think and who have come to understand something beyond feudalism, no feudalism is tolerable, whether benevolent or not.

The trade union movement has made steady and unrelenting progress toward the destruction of the autocratic concept in industry. The steel trust has been one of the last great citadels of the old principle. It has been to industry in America what the thrones of the czar and the kaiser were to the political life of the world. Its outer defenses have fallen. It is but a question of time before the surrender to progress and freedom, and human welfare, will be complete. It is not of much moment whether Mr. Gary is aware of what is taking place, or whether he is even aware of the causes that underlie his own action. The important thing is that progress continues. The liberation of humanity goes on. The world moves.—President Gompers.

HOW TO ENJOY POOR HEALTH

If you will faithfully observe the following rules, for even a short period of time, you will not only be able to enjoy poor health yourself, but you will materially assist your family, neighbors and friends to the enjoyment of the same blessing.

Encourage flies in every possible way. Take the screens off your windows and doors, leave the cover off your garbage can. Leave food about, uncovered, for them to walk and feed on. See if you can't raise a larger crop of flies than your neighbors. Flies are famous spreaders of all kinds of disease. So don't burn or bury your garbage—throw it out for the flies.

Never go to a dentist, and avoid brushing your teeth if possible. There are several painful and interesting kinds of ill health you can get from bad teeth.

Use a common drinking cup whenever you can. You may be able to get something that the last person that drank from it had.

Eat plenty of rich food—lots of meat and cake and candy. A good case of indigestion will last a lifetime. Pie may be recommended in this connection—particularly the kind mother used to make, if eaten in large quantities.

Avoid fresh air. Sleep with the windows tight closed. Remember that night air is the only kind there is at night, and that many people have permanently lost their poor health through sleeping with the windows open.

If you cut your finger, tie it up in a dirty rag and forget about it. If you have something in your eye, poke at it with a handkerchief borrowed from someone else—preferably a dirty one.

If the children are sick, don't call the doctor. Dose them up with "home remedies" recommended by somebody else's grandmother. Or

give them patent medicines. Quite a few people have been able to achieve poor health by the constant use of some particular brand of pain-killer.

Have nothing to do with the American Red Cross or with any of the organizations that are promoting public health. Oppose all local efforts to better health conditions, such as clean-up days, or attempts to appoint a public health nurse in your neighborhood, or doing away with old toilets by installing a water and sewer system.

And, lastly, be sure there is plenty of room in the family lot at the cemetery.—Exchange.

LABOR IS STRONGER THAN EVER

Mass meetings of labor are being held everywhere. The labor press and unions breathe deeply the spirit of fraternity which has been awakened in the heart of organized labor. Workers understand the motives of the opponents of the labor movement. Understanding, they are firm in their devotion to its principles. They know what the destruction of the labor movement would mean to them and their families. It is idle, therefore, for any set of employers or hired attorneys to endeavor to deprive organized labor of such elementary rights as moral suasion, the giving and receiving of information, the use of the public highways, and, in short, just as idle as it is to seek to abolish the right of labor to choose employers and associates and to make union shop contracts.

So long as the country remains free these rights will be exercised in one way or another. Injunctions will not avail; absurd bulls and dicta will not avail. They will be enjoyed practically in spite of fulmination and legal sophistry. Common sense will prevail in the end; reason and consistency will reassert themselves in the courts. If

not, there will be constitutional reform to curb the judicial legislators and confine them to their proper functions.

No doubt there was a time when the short-sighted, bigoted employers thought unionism could and would be crushed by injunctions, damage suits, denunciation, and similar weapons.

They ought to know better now.

What have they accomplished? Labor is stronger than ever.

The unions have not dissolved; the policy of labor has not changed.

Mistakes have been made, and they will be avoided.

But all the essential features of the unionist movement have remained unimpaired.

The assaults have failed; they have been repulsed.

Would it not be wiser and more profitable for employers to abandon futile methods and try the policy of fair play, honest dealing, and friendly relations with their organized employes and the latter's duly elected representatives?

Sooner or later this course will have to be adopted by them, and our effort is to bring it into full and general operation at the earliest possible time and thus avoid many unnecessary controversies and contests.—News Letter.

CONSCIENTIOUS SCRUPLE

The would-be union busters in the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce say that no man should be "forced" to join a union if his conscientious scruples are against such action.

Let us analyze these more or less mysterious scruples.

The non-union man, by accepting lower wages and longer hours, sets up the standard of living for the entire craft. He may degrade the men who required years of hard work to bring themselves up to their present social and economic level. It is because of this fact that workingmen object so strongly

to Chinese and Japanese immigration. But what about the non-union man who demands and receives everything that the unionists ask for?

True, it may be said, he is not degrading the workingmen. That may be so, for the present. The time may come, however, when the workingmen of his craft may have a grievance which will require a united protest against the unfair treatment of the employer. Outside of the organization, that non-union man may become a menace to the interests of all his fellow workers even though he is receiving union wages and working union hours. He may be and, in his disorganized state, usually is used against his fellow workers. Yet, he is all the time receiving the benefit of the years of sacrifice and hardship of his fellow workmen without assuming any of the obligations of the union. He is quite willing to have others fight his battles, without subjecting himself to the perils of the warfare, and in nearly all cases on record his "conscientious scruples" against joining the labor unions consist simply in an unwillingness to assume these obligations.—Seamen's Journal.

STRANGE JUSTICE!

Some employers are strong in their defense of the non-union worker in taking all the advantages which the union has given to a craft without assuming any of the risk or cost of belonging to a union. The union men fix the craft's wages and hours of labor. The non-union man accepts these conditions and declines to hold up his end. The employers really don't think this is a square deal. Most of them would fight if they were accused of doing a similar act with their own associations. It is a workman's duty to join the union of his craft. It is a public duty to support the unions in their just contentions.

WHAT'S A PROFITEER?

There was profiteering in sugar, and the profiteers got away with it. They bought it up and held it till the world would pay the price. The profiteers would still be at it if the banks had not called in their loans.

That there is profiteering in coal there is no doubt whatever. It will continue so long as there is no way of getting at the speculators. With nothing more than a conscience as a guide, they will profiteer till hades freezes over.

That's a profiteer—a man who will grab off all the profit he possibly can, regardless of the moral aspect of his operations. He is concerned only in getting by. Whether his operations are right or wrong; whether people are able to pay or not; whether the poor suffer or not; whether honest business suffers or not—if he can get by, he doesn't give a damn.

He's a traitor to confidence, to business, to brotherhood, to his fellow men. He is more dangerous to mankind in its struggle for peace than the wildest Red. He violates every principle which regulates community life. He outrages every rule mankind has established through the ages by which human beings could hope to trust each other.—The Kablegram.

The story of how Ole Hanson, former Mayor of Seattle, capitalized his anti-strike activities as chief executive of the Washington metropolis, was made public in Judge Oscar Hebel's court in Chicago recently.

Hanson was the star witness for the prosecution in the trial of a number of men charged with violation of the espionage law. He told a lurid story of the Seattle struggle. James Duncan, Seattle labor leader, followed Hanson on the stand and declared that 90 per cent.

of the ex-mayor's narrative was "plain bunk."

On cross-examination, Hanson stated that as mayor of Seattle he received a "gross salary" of \$7,500 a year.

After he had gained nation-wide notoriety as the result of the sensational proclamations which he issued during the strike, he resigned his position as mayor and went on the lecture platform. He testified that he received \$300 per lecture for the first twenty lectures. After that he delivered a hundred lectures for \$35,000. In addition he wrote a book, for which he secured a considerable circulation through certain labor-baiting employers' associations.

Evidently Barnum was right. The American people are prepared to pay for the privilege of being bamboozled.—Labor.

Labor can not be accused of profiteering until a workingman earns enough to support a family and gets his share of relaxation. That would seem to be axiomatic. Yet a number of employers don't agree to it. Last month we had an elevator strike in New York. The men wanted \$28 a week and recognition of the union. We asked the owner of our building whether \$28 a week was too much for a man to support a family upon. He said, "No, it isn't too much, but it's too big a raise at one time." That employer, you see, thought only in terms of his own business. It never occurred to him that the elevator man had a right to earn enough to feed his family; and he actually was willing to fight against giving him what he admitted to be about a minimum wage for New York. Probably that employer is good to his family, generous to his friends and goes to church on Sundays. Only in respect to labor is he heartless.—Metropolitan Magazine.

EDITORIAL

(By Daniel J. Tobin)

WE recently heard from Judge Gary with a general attack on Labor. He made his annual speech in New York. That is about all he does for the \$75,000 that he receives as salary—attack Labor, denounce the leaders of Labor, and tell about the wonderful improvements in the steel industry. Well, one cannot blame the Judge, who is declining in years and could not do much in law practice, to make a bluff to get his salary. I believe if some of the Labor men would just understand that old man Gary needs to draw his salary; needs to make some kind of a showing for it, they would not bitterly attack him as they do, and perhaps we might be able to eliminate some of the bitterness now existing between Gary and ourselves. Of course, this is only my opinion. I feel that some Labor men are really unjust to the old judge. They do not realize that he is only a figurehead put in there to carry out the policies of the finance board and the board of directors of the U. S. Steel Company. He has no more to say about the running of the U. S. Steel Company than a stenographer or bookkeeper would have about running the affairs of a large Labor organization—perhaps not as much. I remember very well while serving with him on the Industrial Commission in Washington, which was appointed by President Wilson, that one day during the discussions, he was cornered on the question of the right of men to organize and be represented by representatives of their own choosing. Several of the big men representing the public group and the employers' group were in favor of such a declaration. It was the one point that might lead to a continuation of that conference, which conference, if it continued, would undoubtedly have hurt Labor. Such men as Mr. Endicott, the largest shoe manufacturer in the world, and Bernard Baruch, one of the wealthiest men in our country, and a large stockholder in the U. S. Steel trust, and even President (emeritus) Eliot of Harvard, agreed to the justice of the declaration. I am confident from what I know of the man's nature, that if it was left to Gary to decide the matter, he would have been forced to agree to the declaration from a standpoint of justice. He left the conference on Friday to go to New York to get instructions and agreed to be back by Monday. During the recess I talked with several of the members of the conference, many of them millionaires, who claimed they knew Gary, and they were all willing to wager anything that Gary would come back and agree to the declaration. Gary went down to New York to meet the finance board of the U. S. Steel Company. I said to one of the very wealthy business men, who was honest enough to agree to the justice of Labor's claim, a member representing the employers' group, that I would bet him a cigar that Gary would come back and would assume the same position that he had already assumed—that he would not stand for the right of men to organize and be represented by representatives of their own choosing. He said: "That is impossible, Mr. Tobin; I know the man and I know the finance board, and I know the situation that confronts them." He was mistaken, for when Mr. Gary returned on Monday and came into the conference, he made one of his usual speeches, in his choky, gruff manner—he is not an orator—and said he, as one of the men representing

the public group, could not agree to the declaration; that men might organize within a certain plant, but the men selected to represent them should be employes in the plant. In other words, company unions was all that he would stand for. I met my friend who had lost the cigar, and he was much more discouraged than I was. He thought he knew men, but he did not know them except as financiers—pals—but the average labor leader knows the other side of the employer, because he is in the habit of dealing with his cold-blooded, cruel, unjust side, in handling wage scales. Personally, I was somewhat pleased with Judge Gary's decision, because had he agreed to this declaration, it would not have meant anything for Labor. We would have to go out and organize men, and wherever able to organize any kind of a decent union we would have been able to make the employers agree to allow the membership to be represented by men of their own choosing. No matter how many declarations might be passed by conferences of this kind, they amount to nothing, as the union must go to the plant or industry and form an organization and then educate the newly-organized men as to the principles of the trade union movement, and then instill into their minds the necessity of fighting for their rights if called upon to do so, and to exercise the greatest patience and restraint until, as a last alternative, they decide, by secret ballot in their union, to quit work.

If Gary had agreed to this declaration we would have been tied up for weeks and perhaps months with other declarations. For instance, they had a sub-committee, of which I was a member, working on the question of the high cost of living, with piles upon piles of statistics, and they would undoubtedly in the end place the blame for the high cost of living on Labor. There were other serious declarations that might have been taken up, such as the question of compulsory arbitration—two-thirds of the conference believed in compulsory arbitration—and if such a declaration was to go out from such a conference, there is no question in my mind but what the national government would find some way of enacting into law measures forcing compulsory arbitration on the workers. And so on. Every college professor and every public writer that had any kind of a "bug" would have had it placed before this industrial conference. Ninety-nine per cent. of those bugs would be remedies to settle the industrial questions of the country and nearly all of the remedies would be an attack on Labor. So, after all, I, for one, was much pleased (although some of my friends did not agree with me) when Mr. Gary, acting under instructions which he received from his masters, came back into the conference and said he could not agree to the right of men to organize into unions and be represented by men of their own choosing. So why blame the old fellow for trying to earn his salary? In truth, he is only an errand boy for the financiers who control the U. S. Steel Trust.

LOCAL UNIONS must have officers that have grit and backbone, and when the proper time comes those officers ought to exercise that courage which is necessary to maintain and preserve the local union. I do not mean by this that officers should consider themselves the whole organization and browbeat, threaten and force the general membership into doing something they wish done, but I believe when a serious crisis arises within a union that the officers knowing within their hearts that there is not much chance for the men to win should they pursue the course they have decided to pursue, should stand firmly on

their feet and plainly express themselves, even against the majority. An officer who is afraid of making enemies and thereby refuses to take a stand in the interest of his membership is not much good to the local union. In every union there are so many grandstand players; those who play to the mob, who plead to the passions of the men; those who denounce the employers and say to the men, let us strike; and those who even denounce the labor leaders. So the officers should have the courage to stand out against those men and fight for the policy that is best for the local to pursue. I have never known it to fail, where officers took such a position the general membership of the local, when they cooled down and commenced to realize the situation confronting them, remembered the advice of the officers and instead of losing friends created many more friends for themselves, because they had the courage of their convictions. The mollycoddle, milk-and-water officer who is satisfied to draw his pay and agree with every idea advanced by the radicals, and sometimes by the majority, is a failure and ought to be displaced. We want as officers of our unions men with red blood in their veins, who are capable of exercising common sense and good judgment in the critical situations that confront the organization; not to be officers in name only, but real officers and leaders of their membership. Some of the unions throughout the country that are now suffering and liable to make serious mistakes have no one to blame except themselves. Had their officers the courage to take the right stand, yes, even the unpopular stand, for the time being, such a stand might have been the means of preserving and strengthening their organizations.

THE Railroad Wage Board, which has done so well for the past year in endeavoring to adjust disputes between the railroad companies and their employes, has decided—I suppose under pressure from the government and the railroad companies—to set aside their decisions; that is, to decide that the policy that they have been pursuing, which was in accordance with the Esch-Cummins law, be changed, and that the railroad companies, each of them, deal with their own employes. This means that the railroad companies will immediately put into effect a reduction in wages. Talk about blundering and destroying everything that has been done. There was never before such an instance of injustice perpetrated against the workers by any governmental body. The Esch-Cummins law was wrong in the first place. Labor fought against it and the railroads fought for it. They were successful in getting it and now they are dissatisfied with the one clause in it which made it of any service to the nation—the clause dealing with the adjustment of disputes relative to wages and working conditions.

The Railroad Wage Board did not say to the railroad companies, as we understand it, that they were to deal with all of their employes. The board is going to handle the affairs of the big brotherhoods. The action, seemingly, divides the railroad workers. The object is clear. The railway department, consisting of all of the organized employes on the railroads, will, perhaps, in the very near future, be confronted with a condition where the machinists working in the machine shop, or the boiler makers, the clerks or the yardmen will suffer a reduction and be forced to strike, and the question is, will the big brotherhoods, such as the engineers, firemen and conductors, help them, or will they continue to operate while their brothers, who for the past four years have been affiliated with them, are on strike and threatened with destruction of

their union? We hope not, but self-preservation has always been the motto of some organizations. Perhaps to save one's self at the expense of others is the best policy to pursue, but it seems selfish. It seems that if men join hand in hand with another organization that in time of trouble they should stick closer than before. It really comes down to this: That if the railroads are successful in destroying the weaker organizations, they will undoubtedly attack the larger, healthier organizations when the proper time comes. If the railroad companies are successful in destroying all of the labor organizations, they will make the mistake of their lives, because other organizations are bound to spring up; organizations of a more serious character, with more dangerous doctrines instilled into the minds of the workers. Today we need organization in every condition in life. It is well for industry to organize. It is well for the medical profession to organize and discuss amongst themselves matters of importance pertaining to their profession. It is well for the lawyers of the country to organize and there discuss laws that have been enacted or laws that ought to be repealed and agree on certain propositions confronting their profession. It is well for the housewives to organize and protect themselves against the unjust profiteers in both the wholesale and retail markets. It is well for the teachers to organize, so that they may discuss the best methods to be pursued in educational institutions and for their own further enlightenment and advancement. All farmers should organize. There should be co-operation. There should be a joining of hands of all those engaged in the same industry, so that with co-operation conditions may be improved. It is much easier for the railroads throughout the vast territory in which they operate to deal with organizations than to have to deal with individuals. The day of dealing with the individual is past. It is a relic of the old days and that of collective bargaining is the only proper course to pursue.

THE following letter was received from Charles Jennings, Secretary of the Hudson County Joint Council:

"Jersey City, N. J., April 18, 1921.

"Mr. D. J. Tobin, Indianapolis, Ind.:

"Dear Sir and Brother—At the last meeting of the Hudson County Joint Council, I was instructed to write you for the purpose of having you define the jurisdiction of the locals in Hudson county and of the locals in New York City. The reason for this is that there are a number of drivers who stable in Hudson county and hold membership in the locals on the Jersey side of the river and of whom the business agents of Local No. 202 of New York are demanding a transfer card, and this the locals in Hudson county will not give, because of the fact that they claim that any driver who stables in Hudson county belongs to the Jersey locals."

In answer to Brother Jennings I have stated that wherever a man put up his team or automobile; that is, the vehicle he is driving, that his membership must be in that city, town or district, if there is a local union of the International chartered therein. This is one of the oldest rules governing jurisdiction within the International Union. This rule obtained and was put into practice in the old Team Drivers' International Union and has been rigidly observed ever since the foundation of the International. A question similar to this arose some time ago between Oakland and San Francisco in the case of the bakery drivers, and a simi-

lar decision was then rendered by the General President. There is no other way of regulating jurisdiction of this kind. No matter where a man lives—if he lives in Boston, if the vehicle which he drives is put up in Jersey City, then he must belong to the local union governing his craft in Jersey City. The same rule may apply to a team or machine putting up in New York which may work all day in Jersey City; the local in Jersey City would have no right to take into membership the driver of that team or machine.

There must be some basis of defining jurisdiction of this kind and this is the only honest line of demarcation. Therefore, I trust that our local unions will closely follow this decision, because it is the only decision that the General Executive Board can render, and it is the only honest decision that could possibly be rendered in such cases.

In the district of South Chicago and Chicago proper we draw a boundary line on a certain street and the local unions closely observe this jurisdiction. If they can get along under such a condition in Chicago, there is no reason why, with the river dividing New York City and New Jersey, that our membership there could not get along.

The main purpose of our organizations should not be to squabble over men wearing our buttons and raising technical points over the individuals wearing our emblem and paying their dues regularly, but the thing for them to do is to go out and get into the union the fellow who does not belong to any union. There are enough men for all in the district outlined and granted them by the International Union when their charter was issued without having any local trespassing on the territory of another organization.

There is another law of the International that must and should be observed by all local unions, and that is, the law governing transfer cards. When a man ceased to work under the jurisdiction of a certain craft and goes to work under the jurisdiction of another craft, he should have his local issue to him immediately a transfer card and that transfer should be accepted by the local union under whose jurisdiction he is working without any extra charge, except to see that the individual has a paid-up book stamped with the legal stamp of the International Union.

JAMES LYNCH, who for many years was president of the International Typographical Union, and for the past eight years a member of the State Industrial Commission of New York, ceased his employment with the State of New York a few days ago and was requested by a life insurance company to become an officer of that company. He was first chosen as vice-president of the company and a day or two ago, at a meeting of the board of directors, was chosen as president of the company at four times the salary that he would be receiving if still president of the International Typographical Union. You can take it from the writer that the insurance company has not made any mistake. Jim Lynch has the executive ability, the organizing qualities and the necessary force to make any institution with which he is connected successful. The insurance company knew this very well; consequently, not in Mr. Lynch's interest, but in their own interest and the interest of the stockholders, they decided to make him president of their company. In his position with the State of New York he was always an active trade unionist, advising the officers of trade unions and participating generally in the work of the State Federation of Labor, to which body he was a delegate for several years. We congratulate Jim Lynch on his appoint-

ment and we wish him success. We only regret that men of his type, so necessary to our movement, are being grabbed off by corporations that recognize their qualities and are willing to pay for their services.

JUST as we are going to press I am in receipt of a telegram from Mr. Gwyn, representing Mr. Taylor, president of the American Railway Express Company, asking for a conference immediately. I wired him, asking for information as to the purpose of the conference and he has intimated in his answer that it is for the purpose of discussing the wage question, which, of course, means a reduction in wages. President Harding, in his message to Congress, spoke very plainly to the railroads, stating that in order to help the farmers and consumers of the country that there must be a reduction of expenses in the operation of the railroads, meaning, in other words, a reduction in wages. This, of course, applies to the express company, as it was granted a substantial increase in its rates. I believe that the government will insist on a reduction in those rates to meet the crying demand for reduced prices on everything, and this accounts for the hurried call sent out by the officials of the express company to the International Labor officials. General President Tobin will meet the national officials of the express company in Cincinnati on the 27th for the purpose of discussing the situation. In the meantime we advise the men working for the express company, who are members of our organization, to hold their heads and not become impatient. We will do the very best we can for them, but no matter what happens, you may rest assured that your case could not be handled with any greater energy or any more consideration for your interests than was given it by the representatives of the International Union.

Stick to the organization. Attend your meetings. Pay your dues, and if we are forced to take a short step backward, by maintaining your organization, when the proper time comes, we will endeavor to come back, and I believe we will be successful in the end. The fact that a reduction in wages is going to be put into force on the railroads is going to materially affect our agreement with the express company. At this time I am of the opinion that were the government to leave the express company alone and leave its rates as they are, that we would not be confronted with a reduction in wages for our membership employed by the express company.

ALL members of our International Union should refuse to pay dues to any local secretary-treasurer or business agent unless they receive the regular official monthly due stamp on their books as a receipt for the money they have paid as dues, except in cases of extreme emergency, and such cases are very rare. The regular official, 30-cent per capita stamp is the official receipt of the International Union for the moneys that are paid as dues. A member is very foolish if he pays out his money without receiving a receipt.

We understand that in the New York district at the present time there are a few business agents of suspended local unions that are collecting dues without giving stamps to the members because of the fact that they have not been getting any stamps from the International. Nearly all of the local unions in New York are complying with our laws, but there are one or two local unions that are temporarily suspended for the non-

payment of tax, and we have evidence at headquarters that the business agents and officers of those local unions are collecting dues and using an imitation stamp, which, of course, is absolutely illegal and which, if continued, the International Union will have those parties using same taken care of by the courts for collecting money under false pretense. It is nothing more or less than open embezzlement to try to collect money in the name of the International by the misrepresentation of its seal and stamps, and the individual guilty of such action is subject to severe punishment. This act can be placed in the same class as forgery. Therefore, I advise all members to understand where their money is going and demand an accounting for same, and above all demand a receipt for money paid as dues, and the official receipt is the regular official 30-cent per capita stamp of the International Union.

The secretary of a local in accepting a transfer card must see that the book of the individual is duly and regularly stamped and that the member is paid up to date in an organization affiliated with the International Union. If the local union is suspended from the International, the secretary-treasurer is not obliged to take a transfer card from said local because such action would be illegal.

THE International Union has absolute supervision over the affairs of all local unions. It does not interfere with the workings of a local union unless it believes that something is going on that is not right, and in a case of where there is any suspicion of wrongdoing, the International may at any time order the General Auditor, or some other general officer, into the local union to audit the books and take charge of the affairs of the local union. If any resistance is offered to such a proceeding, the General Executive Board will immediately revoke the charter of said local union. We do not want or desire to interfere with any local union that is functioning in accordance with our laws, but where we believe that the officer of a local union is doing that which is not right, it is our duty and we are obligated to protect the membership of the local union by seeing to it that the affairs of the local union are being run in accordance with the laws laid down by the International. Every local union chartered by the International has entered into a contract with the International that they will obey the laws and mandates of the International organization, and unless they entered into this contract they would not or could not receive their charter. The charter is issued with the distinct understanding that honesty within the local union will prevail and that the laws of the International will be observed. Just as soon as a local union violates that contract, and it is called to the attention of the International Executive Board, it is the duty of the Board to try to straighten out the matter and if the Board finds that the local union is not willing to go along and observe our laws, then the General Executive Board is bound to revoke said charter. The rank and file of the membership must be protected. This organization of ours belongs to the general membership and the general membership is usually right. We are not establishing local unions for the purpose of finding jobs for a few officers, but for the purpose of benefitting and raising up the general membership that constitutes the local union. No greater crime can be committed against a local union than to have some man who has been elected to office and trusted by his fellow men to deceive, defraud and betray them. Such a crime in the old days was punishable by death. Modern society has changed that condition and the labor movement, gen-

erally speaking, is rather sympathetic with the individual who goes wrong, but in the general office the question of sympathy cannot be allowed to interfere in the case of a man who deliberately misappropriates the funds of the organization or betrays the membership. As stated above, see that your due book is properly stamped with the official stamp of the International Union when paying your dues. Understand, you are insured in the International to the extent of \$10.00 per week should you become involved in a strike or lockout with your employers, but you cannot collect this insurance if you are forced out on strike, unless your dues are paid each month and you have received the official stamp of the International, and you cannot receive the official stamp unless your local union is affiliated and in good standing with the International organization, which institution has issued your local a charter and given them the right to do business in its name.

THE following local unions in New York City have been suspended from membership in the International Union for non-payment of their per capita tax: Locals Nos. 645, 618, 506, 285, 274 and 273. Many of those local unions are collecting dues in the name of the International Union. On the 20th day of May, unless their per capita tax is paid, the greater number of those local unions will have their charters revoked and in all probability new local unions will be organized, because the membership of those local unions desire affiliation with the International Union. A large number of members of the above-named locals believe that they are still affiliated with the International, so I am publishing this statement, by order of the General Executive Board, for the enlightenment of the general membership in New York who are receiving the Journal. Secretary-treasurers and officers of local unions in good standing with the International Union will refuse to accept transfer cards from any of the local unions named above, as they are not officially in affiliation with the International organization.

THE coal teamsters of Boston have settled up their agreement with their employers, accepting a very slight reduction over previous scales. It was indeed a perplexing situation with which the officers of the local union were confronted. They were threatened with a large reduction in wages and the taking away of other concessions. They were confronted with the general idleness prevailing, about one-half of their membership were out of work and no orders for coal coming in. The dealers had already reduced the price of coal about \$1 per ton. The committee representing the union fought hard against the conditions which were offered by the employers, and with the assistance of General Organizer Gillespie were successful eventually in reaching an agreement which provides only for a very slight reduction in the wage scale that obtained last year, maintaining nearly all the other conditions. The agreement was signed for one year. It was the best agreement that could possibly be obtained, and the membership were very fortunate in the result. Any local union that refuses at this time of unsettled conditions to use common sense and good judgment does not deserve to have a charter. Men must be careful and realize the industrial conditions of the country. It is not going to destroy us if we will listen to reason and adjust our grievances temporarily. There is another day coming, and if the business conditions of the country warrant it, when the proper

time comes, we will again go forth asking for a better wage and better working conditions generally. In the meantime be patient, be careful, and understand that there is nothing at this time more dangerous than a stoppage of work, resulting from either a strike or lockout. Men who vote to stop work, to say the least, are either insane or are traitors to the union. This does not mean that we must not do so if confronted with conditions that are impossible to accept. In such cases the International will render every assistance to the local union against unfair and unjust treatment by the employers.

INSURANCE OF UNEMPLOYED

Eight million British workers become automatically insured against unemployment under the unemployment insurance act of 1920, which has just come into operation in England. This new act extends compulsory insurance against unemployment to practically all persons in receipt of remuneration not exceeding £250 a year.

After a "waiting period" of three days of unemployment beneficiaries become entitled to 15 shillings a week for men, 12 shillings for women, 7½ shillings for boys under eighteen and 6 shillings for girls under eighteen.

To qualify for benefit an insured person must not quit his or her job without good cause, and must not have been discharged for misconduct or have gone on strike. There must also be no refusal of a suitable job offered, and should a dispute arise on the question of "suitability" the insured person may appeal to a court of referees. Not more than fifteen weeks' benefit may be drawn in any one insurance year.

Employers are free to set up insurance schemes of their own, giving equal or greater advantages. The state rate of contribution to such special schemes or contracts will not exceed 30 per cent. of the amount paid to the general scheme, as it is taken for granted that in industries with insurance systems of their own the rate of unemployment will be lower than in other trades.—Indianapolis News.

COUNSEL

If thou should'st bid thy friend
farewell,
But for one night though that
farewell should be,
Press thou his hand in thine; how
canst thou tell
How far from thee

Fate, or caprice, may lead his feet
Ere that tomorrow come? Men
have been known
Lightly to turn the corner of a
street,
And days have grown

To months, and months to lagging
years,
Before they looked in loving eyes
again.
Parting, at best, is underlaid with
tears—
With tears and pain.

Therefore, lest sudden death should
come between,
Or time, or distance, clasp with
pressure true
The palm of him who goeth forth.
Unseen,
Fate goeth too!

Yea, find thou always time to say
Some earnest word betwixt the
idle talk,
Lest with thee henceforth, night
and day,
Regret should walk.
—Mollie E. M. Davis.

Have one single, definite aim,
and let no side targets distract your
attention. You can hit but one
bullseye at once.

CORRESPONDENCE



BLOOMINGTON, ILL.

Mr. D. J. Tobin, Indianapolis, Ind.:

Dear Sir and Brother—Local 333 has just submitted proposals to the employers whereby we seek to renew our agreement covering wages, rules and working conditions now in force for another year. Viewing conditions in general, especially from a local standpoint, we decided that the logical step would be to ask a renewal of our present agreement rather than to ask a wage increase or other changes at this time. Since the employers with whom we are to have dealings this year have, in the past, shown every inclination to be fair and reasonable with our organization, we contemplate no trouble, because it might be said that we are asking for nothing.

It is my opinion that organized labor is facing the greatest crisis in all of its history, and this is a time when the actions of our members should be guided by sound common sense and good judgment. Large industries throughout the country are seeking, not only wage reductions but the complete destruction of every semblance of unionism. If ever it should so happen that this world-wide combination of skilled profit collectors succeeded with their "rough stuff" program to crush union labor, we would see a condition arise whereby the workers would be reduced to a starvation wage basis and exploited and driven like animals, and powerless to protect themselves. These, by the way, are just a few reasons why we should stand loyal to our organization and seek to improve upon it.

One great bulwark of the workers in this city is one of the most

successful Rochdale co-operative stores in the United States. This store is owned and operated by union men—each member holds five shares of \$10 each. The members trade at their own store and all profits are returned to them in semi-annual dividends. Just recently our store took possession of its handsome new building, which was recently purchased at a cost of \$20,000, and at this new location one of the most up-to-date meat markets in the city has been added to the list of achievements by the Bloomington workers in the field of co-operative endeavor. We believe that this is the common sense method of eliminating the profiteer. The possibilities within the scope of the Rochdale co-operative movement are unlimited; it is a common people's movement and the workers are its chief beneficiaries.

Many times in the past during strikes and lockouts, when the workers have been denied credit by private merchants as a part of a prearranged program to starve the workers to the point of submission, the Bloomington co-operative store stepped forward and supplied the intended victims with provisions, thus contributing very material aid to the successful prosecution of industrial wars that otherwise would have been lost. The Rochdale co-operative movement for some time has carried the endorsement of the A. F. of L., and I believe that our members everywhere would do well to give careful study to it and become familiar with its aims and what the movement means to the wage earner.

It can hardly be regarded as pessimism if we say that organized labor, with the nation-wide "open

shop" drive of the employers, is facing a struggle for its very existence. This conclusion is justified by what is taking place in large cities throughout the country. But, on the other hand, I see the workers organizing their funds, concentrating their buying power and operating their own stores and markets. I see the trade unionists establishing their official publications to give their side of the question to the public, which, in the majority of cases, is impossible through the medium of the daily press. Both of these institutions long ago became powerful auxiliaries to the trade union movement of Bloomington. So, in the face of the most strenuous efforts to crush trade unionism, we see the workers coming through it very nicely. The workers are using their brains; they are proceeding in an intelligent manner to protect their union, realizing that their organization defends and upholds their right to "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

MARTIN A. DILLMON,
Correspondent Local 333.

CINCINNATI, OHIO

To the Editors of the Labor Press:

Dear Sirs and Brothers—Our International organization would be grateful if you would call the attention of your readers to the fact that the Premier Malt Products Co. of Decatur, Ill., and Steubenville, Ohio, manufacturing "White Banner Malt Extract" for home brew purposes is operating its plants under non-union conditions.

Previously these plants were "breweries" and were operated under union conditions. Since they were remodeled into syrup manufacturing plants, which work is identical with that performed in breweries, the attitude of the employers has been to operate under the so-called "open shop."

The so-called "open shop" move-

ment, as you are well aware, is nothing less than an attempt on the part of the employers to destroy organized labor and operate a non-union shop closed to union men.

We also wish you would call your readers' attention to the fact that the fight against the La Crosse Refining Co. of La Crosse, Wis., is still on. This firm declared for the so-called "open shop."

Fraternally yours,
ADAM HUEBNER,
JOHN RADER,
JOSEPH PROEBSTLE,
JOSEPH OBERGFELL,
General Secretaries.

SOLIDARITY

Solidarity means unity of the human family. It must be based upon a realization of the ideals of equality, liberty and fraternity. It cannot be achieved by following the promptings of envy, ambition and disregard of the moral conscience. Tyranny, spoliation, intolerance and hatred do not lead humanity toward the goal of brotherly love and social justice. All those who are willing to serve in the cause of humanity should not dwell upon their wrongs or seek to acquire only new rights—they must learn to insist upon the performance of the duties which accompany every right or privilege. It is the privilege of any mind to excel others—go as far as it may—but such excellence does not give a right to dominate, only to be of greater service to mankind and to receive in return the appreciation and love of their fellows. Solidarity demands from its devotees deeds of forbearance and sacrifice, not the forbearance of revolution and force.

Liberty is opportunity to assert rights, to bargain for pay or privilege, to exercise faculties, to live a full, well-rounded life.

We have settled up nearly all of our wage scales in New York City, Boston, Cincinnati, and some of the other large cities, for one year. Wage scales are pending in a few of the other large cities, but we expect to be able to reach agreements with our employers without bringing about any serious trouble. In cases where wage scales are pending, let me advise the membership to be patient. If you have not reached an agreement on the day on which your old agreement expires, do not fly off the reel and want to go on strike—just wait. It is better to work for present conditions than to go out on strike. Whatever agreement is reached will be retroactive, or date back to the date of the expiration of the old agreement. For instance, if your wage scale expires on June 1st, if you have not reached an agreement on that day, keep on working until after the question is voted on by the local and you receive the sanction of the International. After you have received the sanction of the International Executive Board, even then action should not be taken until after all efforts to reach an agreement have failed, even going so far as to have the union offer to arbitrate the questions of difference between the local and employers. Anything to keep the men working until this wave of depression and discouragement passes from our country. Bear this little matter in mind, that there are four million men and women out of employment throughout the country and there are floods of immigrants landing on our shores every day seeking employment, thereby displacing the workers that have employment.

Do you notice the wonderful prosperity we are experiencing since the new administration went into office? Of course, it is not the fault of the new administration, but where are the wonderful promises that were made during the campaign? The unsettled conditions of the world today are worse than ever before in history and it is simply due to the fact that our country, while participating in the war, is refusing, after the war, to help settle questions that brought about the war. As stated before, until we help settle conditions in Europe, there is no chance for anything like industrial prosperity in our country.

Official Magazine
of the
**International Brotherhood
of Teamsters, Chauffeurs
Stablemen and Helpers
of America**

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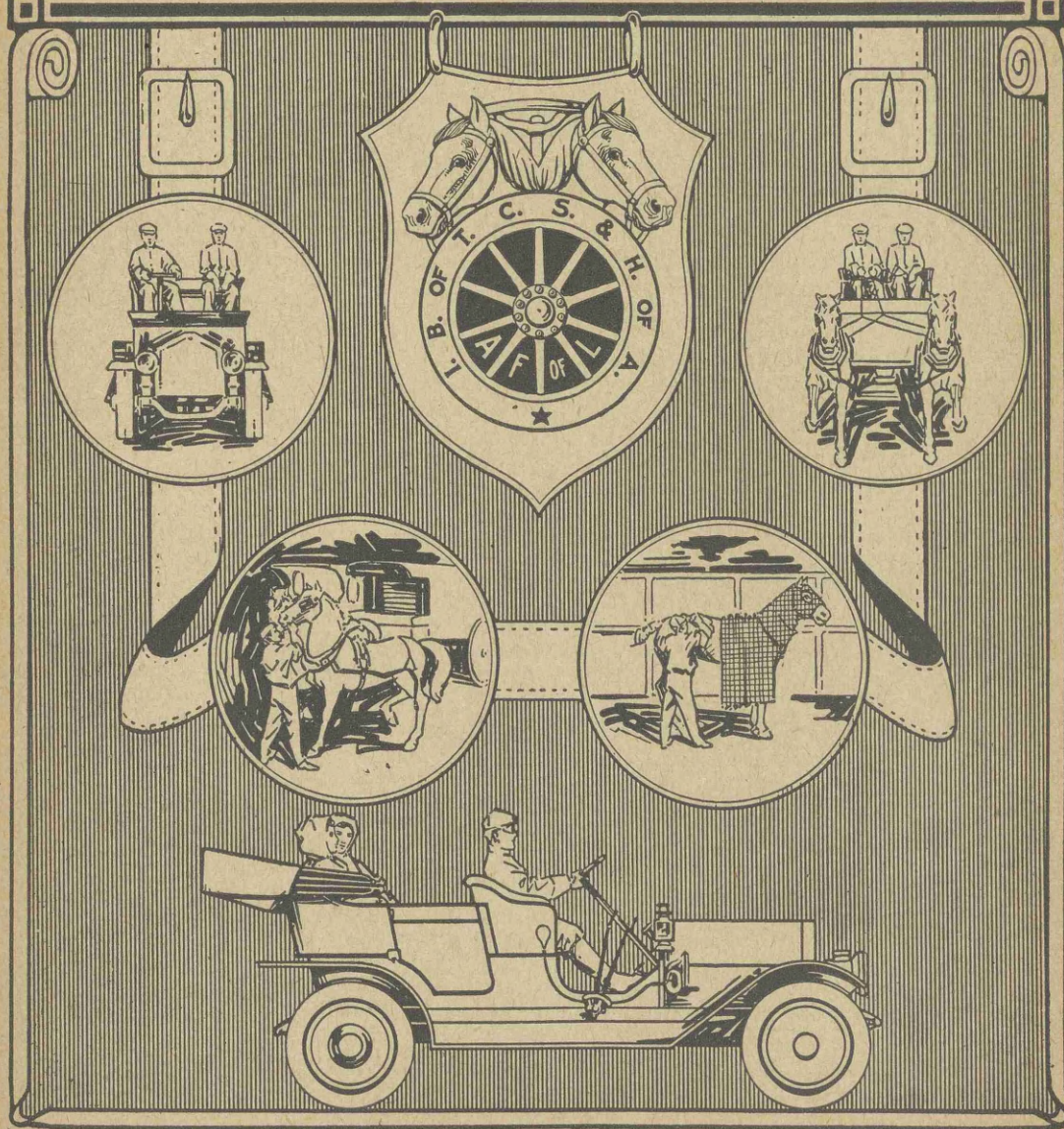
THOMAS L. HUGHES, Secretary

222 East Michigan Street

Indianapolis, Indiana

JUNE, 1921

OFFICIAL MAGAZINE INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD TEAMSTERS • CHAUFFEURS STABLEMEN AND HELPERS OF AMERICA



It is very poor policy on the part of our union to promise to change conditions for men who have never before been in the union but who have come in because they are threatened with a reduction in wages. The policy to pursue is to try to hold the conditions that have been obtained for the men who have been loyal to your union and stood by the union under all conditions, and not promise the new men who are coming in because they are threatened with a reduction in wages that you will change things over for them in a day. Of course, admit them to the union, but do not make them any false promises that you will change conditions where they are working as soon as they join the union. You can say to them that if an opportunity presents itself to help them, that you will do so and you can admit them into the union under those conditions.

The struggle of the workers for a better life, for a broader education and for a more thorough understanding of life's problems will ever prevail. The old saying, "Eternal vigilance is the price of victory," still obtains. We cannot, therefore, continue to prosper unless each man does his share.

The New York situation, referred to so much in previous issues of our Journal, is shaping itself better than we expected. Everything amongst our unions in New York is coming out all right. The faithful, honest, real trade unionists and officers of our several local unions believe in observing the laws which they helped to create, and in carrying out the orders of the International officers, which orders are based on the constitution. Conditions look brighter and the prospects are that more harmony will prevail in the future than now prevails.

— OFFICIAL MAGAZINE — INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF TEAMSTERS CHAUFFEURS STABLEMEN AND HELPERS.



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THE OPEN SHOP



YOU think the open-shop campaign is aimed at the abuses of the closed shop. Is it? The Catholic Welfare Council asked all the agencies be-

hind the campaign whether they would enter into collective bargaining agreements with the unions. Without exception they replied, "No!" Some were frank enough to admit that the open-shop campaign was aimed at the destruction of the unions.

The abuses of the closed shop? Every right-thinking man wants them removed. Everybody knows there are grafters and tyrants in the unions; everybody also knows there are grafters and tyrants in the big corporations. To get rid of them, do we have to destroy all corporations and all unions, and make every business man and every worker do business as individuals? The remedy would be worse than the disease!

Do you want the unions destroyed or improved?

You think that the open shop sounds good—that you are for it.

How does it work? After twenty years of operation in the U. S. Steel Corporation it means (according to the Interchurch Report) that nearly one-half the employees work twelve hours a day; that nearly one-half of these work

seven days a week; that three-fourths of them do not get a wage adequate for a minimum comfort standard of living for the American family.

Is this what you want?

You think it means freedom for the non-union men.

Does it? In many places it means that he must sign a contract never to join a union; it means that he is continually watched by spies to see that he never becomes a union man; in the Alabama coal mines it means that he must live behind a stockade and get a pass every time a member of his family goes out. In West Virginia it means that he must be "protected" from talking to union organizers by gunmen and machine guns; it means that he must sign a lease, giving the company the right to come into his house at any time and throw out any guest, lest union men should come in.

Is this the kind of freedom the American flag stands for?

You think we are talking about the open shop at its worst! Well, take it at its best.

It means the absolute right of the employer to hire and fire. No discrimination! He is to run his business without dictation. This is "individual bargaining." In pioneer days it worked, but the employers are now almost entirely organized to bargain collectively.

We can't go back to the old days. Some one is trying to fool you! Today hiring men as individuals in the big industries means hiring them on the terms the big corporations offer.

Is the remedy for tyranny in labor unions the placing of absolute power into the hands of organized employers?

There is another way out—the establishment of industrial democracy. Its foundation is not in the open shop, but in fair agreements, with both sides responsible to the

public and the public rights protected. This is the way Europe is building. Just now even her employers are laughing at us as a back number.

We will build our own house in our own way. But it is time to start building—and forget the propaganda of the open-shop campaign!

THE METHODIST FEDERATION FOR SOCIAL SERVICE.

I am glad that a system of labor prevails under which laborers can strike when they want to, where they are not obliged to work under all circumstances, and are not tied down to work whether you pay them for it or not. I like a system which lets a man "quit" when he wants to, and I wish it might prevail everywhere. I want a man to have a chance to better his condition; that is the true system. I am not ashamed to confess that twenty-five years ago I was a hired laborer.—Abraham Lincoln.

Capitalists are now on a strike, notwithstanding they have been howling at labor to produce more when their wages bid fair to become a reasonable per cent. They find it convenient to "go out on a strike" nevertheless when people are in need of employment, and close their doors on the hungry in order to subject the wage-earner to a menial's place in the body politic.

In less than forty years San Francisco will be the principal port in America, and the Pacific Coast the center of the world's shipping, predicts Captain Robert Dollar. The doughty old captain evidently must have got over his one-time fear that the Seamen's Act would put our merchant marine everlastingly on the blink.

EDITORIAL

(By Daniel J. Tobin)

THE industrial crisis now prevailing, and referred to in previous issues of this Journal, does not seem to be improving. I think, however, that we have reached the bottom; at least, we cannot experience much worse conditions than prevail at present. As spring rolls on and summer advances there is a possible chance for conditions improving. At least, the sun will be shining and nature will seem different from what it was during the bitterness of winter and the coldness of early spring, and the men and women out of work will be able to at least walk around in God's sunshine, and this will relieve the situation somewhat. My judgment is, that conditions will be better during the summer, but that we are more than liable to experience a dull winter. The agreement on the part of Germany to comply with the indemnity laid down by the Allies is the first bright spark that tends to point to a settlement of European affairs. In my personal judgment, and I am not desirous of entering into the political question, if our country had remained in close affiliation with the Allies the German government would have accepted the conditions before now. Germany is one of the most successful nations in the world. From a diplomatic standpoint they cannot be outwitted. Industrially a few years ago they practically controlled the trade of the world. You must remember during the war there was not one inch of German soil destroyed, not one building shot down, not one factory or mine destroyed, and all the industrial machinery of the nation was preserved. It is old history to be rehashing the war, but if Germany had not blundered on more than one occasion they would have won the war. They had the war won when they threatened the United States and said they would sink all ships regardless of treaties and agreements existing. By that action they forced the United States to defend herself and consequently lost the war. On one or two other occasions, intoxicated with their success, because of their blundering they lost the war, but generally speaking they made the greatest campaign and had the most wonderful and powerful war machinery ever known in history. If Germany had not forced the United States into war, and our government reluctantly entered the war, as you will remember President Wilson won his second election on the plea that he kept us out of the war, if they had not threatened to disregard all treaties and agreements and deprive us of our right to deliver our goods anywhere in the world that we desired to deliver them, they would undoubtedly have defeated the Allies. However, this is only the opinion of one individual and I may be entirely wrong. In traveling throughout that portion of the country where the war prevailed, everyone was desirous of buying American goods, but there was not any settlement of the war. Fighting had ceased, but industrial conditions were much worse than during the war; Europe needed our products, but had no money to pay for them. This is the cause of a great deal of our trouble. We manufacture more than we consume and must therefore sell outside, and until such time as affairs in Europe are settled there will not be much industrial prosperity in our country. My judgment also is that our American manufacturers pay too little attention to our South American republics. I found,

while in Mexico, that German agents were there and that there were many of them in South America making deals and agreements whereby German goods could be sold there as soon as they had reached an agreement with the Allies. We ought to cultivate a greater friendship with our South American republics, even though, in our opinion, they are not our equals. In those countries they believe they are our superiors. German and other European agents are not losing sight of the fact that there are large countries south of us with millions of inhabitants that have materials for sale and money to buy and instead of paying all of our attention to war-stricken Europe we ought to remember that there are several countries, composed of millions of human beings, to the south of us. As stated above, I believe the first ray of hope towards a settlement of European conditions, and world conditions, has presented itself. It will take some time to work out the details, but at least an agreement has been reached and I think Germany did the wise thing in agreeing. From my experience I knew that in the end Germany would agree; that they were merely holding out to make the best bargain they could. They are diplomats of a high order. They drive good bargains in Germany and they played their game of holding up their agreement, being encouraged by the actions of the political party in control of our government in Washington. As time goes on Germany will endeavor to alter the present agreement, and I am of the opinion, knowing their cleverness, their shrewdness and their ability, that they will be successful in time in convincing the government of the countries composing the Allies, that in justice to the Germans some of the penalties should be reduced and made easier for the Germans. They never stop working, and I suppose you understand that a great deal of the feeling that existed during the war amongst the working people of Europe towards the Germans and the Russians is being reduced continually. I would not be surprised but what four or five years hence the German people will be successful in convincing the American masses that they have been unjustly treated, thereby starting an agitation to relieve them of the enormous indemnities imposed upon them. But to get back to where we started, the country is still floundering industrially. Banking institutions are becoming more careful every day. They are scrutinizing more carefully and thoroughly all corporations applying for loans. The money rate is not any higher, and may be somewhat lower, but the banks are more careful; they are taking no chances; they are not loaning money except on gilt-edged security. Some corporations are endeavoring from week to week to meet their pay rolls, and those same institutions two years ago had unlimited credit and unlimited supplies of money. You wonder, naturally, what has become of those profits. Well, to avoid paying the government excess profit tax, the income tax and other taxes imposed by law, they put the bulk of their earnings into improvements; the industrial crash came—sooner than it was expected by anyone—with the result that the corporations that were successful during the war were found to have nothing on hand except a lot of machinery and buildings. Many of those big concerns had also bought enormous supplies of material at war prices. They could not sell their manufactured product at the old price, consequently were forced to reduce their prices and suffer great loss. There is going on at this time a gigantic reorganization of the price market. Materials have come down and the manufacturers are losing. The materials and products they sold to Europe, they did not receive any money for them; all they got was notes and some

more notes, and then requests for renewals, etc. All this will pass away, perhaps in a little while, but it will be some time before we return to genuine, wholesome prosperity. We will never again experience the wonderful, successful industrial conditions that we experienced during the eight years from 1912 to 1920. Let us hold up our heads and face the fight with a determination to win. Let's not be discouraged. Life is too short to worry. Things are not so bad but what they could be worse and we have reason to rejoice when we think of living in this the greatest country in the world. It is a wonderful thing to be an American citizen and no matter what the agitators tell you, we enjoy here freedom and prosperity unequaled by the people of any country in the civilized world.

WE certainly have every reason to be proud of our organizations in Cincinnati. The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor recently held its meetings in that city at the Havlan Hotel. Our Joint Council, assisted by Organizer Farrell, entertained the members of the Executive Council and the visiting International officers at a banquet at the Metropole Hotel, which was without a doubt never before equaled in the labor movement in that city. It is impossible for me to describe that splendid entertainment. During the meal the guests were entertained by high-class music and vocal talent. At the conclusion of the dinner the members of the Executive Council addressed the gathering, each one speaking so highly of our International Union, what it has done for the membership and the position it now holds in the labor movement, that it really made me proud to be connected with the organization and in a small way being helpful in bringing our members and organization to the high position which we hold in the general labor movement and in the minds of the employers. The local unions divided the expense of the entertainment. It was a master stroke on the part of our organizations in that city. Usually I am opposed to taking one dollar from the treasury of the local for anything, especially when no good results obtain from the spending of the money, as the local's money should be spent only for purposes which tend to elevate and help the organization. In this case, however, with all the members of the Executive Council, representing several International Unions and about twenty other individuals representing their several trades and unions, my judgment is that it was money well spent, because every one of those men went away convinced that the teamsters' and chauffeurs' union is a real organization, officered by real men in Cincinnati and elsewhere and composed of first-class trade unionists, and you may rest assured that in their several organizations they will make this fact known, and I believe if it comes to a point where they can help us, they will be glad to do so. The unions in Cincinnati were desirous of showing the visiting Executive Council members and other International officers the kind of men that compose our unions in Cincinnati and elsewhere, and they did it in such a manner and without any noise, that they certainly hit the mark. I have the speech delivered by President Gompers at the banquet, which was taken down verbatim, and I would like to publish it, but because it contains so much personal reference to me, I refrain from doing so. It deals with the history of our International Union from its very inception, and I shall hold it as a document to be placed in our files to be referred to in the years to come when looking up the history of our International Union. In behalf of our International I

desire to express to Organizer Farrell and the officers and members of our unions in Cincinnati, my appreciation of the splendid manner in which they entertained the Executive Council members and the visiting International officers during the time they were in their city. I desire most sincerely to express to them my deep appreciation for what they did because I know they went to this trouble of entertaining the visitors in their city for the purpose of spreading and creating a feeling of good fellowship and high regard for the membership of our International Union. It was not the entertainment, but the spirit, which prompted them. As far as I am personally concerned, entertainment does not appeal to me, except when it has for its purpose the strengthening of the labor movement. The lessons learned by our business agents who listened to the addresses made at the banquet, and public meetings held, will undoubtedly be helpful as time rolls on, and the lessons learned by the International officers from the manner in which they were treated by organizations that have not been in existence more than six or seven years in the city of Cincinnati, left a deep and beneficial impression on the minds of those men.

THE Immigration Bill passed by Congress and the United States Senate has not yet been signed by the President. We expect it will be, because the administration is fearful of the enormous influx of individuals from European countries who are desirous of securing admission into our country. As the law reads, only three per cent. of the number admitted during one year before the war will be allowed to enter. Even then the number admitted will be about 300,000 a year. Well, that is quite a number and even in three years we will have, under the new immigration law, one million persons to absorb. I do not know whether we can take care of even that many, but let us go on hoping that the light will penetrate into the brain of those handling the reins of our government and will see to it that the grade of immigrants coming from Europe are of such a nature that they will not oppose our present form of government or start a Bolshevik movement such as they have in Russia. A gentleman by the name of Schwartz, who has just come back from Russia, stated that the Bolsheviks circulate the story that the American Federation of Labor and its International officers are owned entirely by the capitalist class. Just imagine him saying that our teamsters' unions in Chicago, New York, San Francisco, Boston and other places that have done so much for their membership—that they are owned and controlled by the men of capital. In other words, that it is not a labor union, but a capitalist union, although we are continually fighting capital and endeavoring to get from capital the things that we think we are justly entitled to. Well, it is useless to answer this statement, and I am merely telling you what Europe thinks about us. I will leave it to your judgment to decide whether the employers run your union or whether the membership run the union. I do not know that I am opposed to employers if they will do the things for us that we ask them to do, or give us that which we think we are entitled to. I do not care what elements tend to make the homes of the workers brighter and better; that will educate the children of the workers; give them a decent chance to live a reasonably comfortable life and enough to take care of them in their old age; I am with that element or that class and I do not care whether they are capitalists or laborers. I have very little hopes, however, that the

capitalists or the extremely wealthy classes will give us the things that we get through our unions, because after all human instinct asserts itself in every condition of life. Human instinct is to get more and more, and the more one piles up the more he wants. For every dollar invested he wants two dollars. This is the human instinct that enters into the successful individual business man. I do not know but what perhaps there are some of us if we were placed in the same position or were in business, we would do exactly the same as the employers are doing—get all we could out of the business. Usually when the business is not paying them as much as before, they believe they should reduce operating expenses; that is, cut down the cost of production, reduce wages, which is the so-called easy solution for more profits, but this is not a true or honest solution; because the first-class worker receiving a first-class wage makes more money for his employer by his careful work. For instance, if an employer in the teaming business only pays \$9.00 a week, he will get only the lowest possible grade of men to work for him; men who will destroy his property; who will be careless about accidents; incur an enormous expense towards the maintenance of equipment, etc. If you hire a first-class man, pay him decent wages, a man with a home and family; that man will take care of the property of his employer and is capable of exercising good judgment in his daily movements in the community in which he is employed and in which he lives and is liable to create more profits for his employer. Undoubtedly in employing what is called common labor, such as is employed in industrial plants where bull strength is more necessary than anything else, the employers may secure men who will work twelve hours a day and enable them to obtain more profits, or they think they are obtaining more profits, but a good union man would be cheaper for them at \$1.00 an hour than a non-union, half-baked individual at 50 cents an hour. Our so-called friends and extreme radical leaders in European countries believe that because we are not pursuing the same methods that they are, that we are not a union organization but an employers' association. One of the greatest victories that the human race has experienced is the victory won by convincing those who were against us, not by brutal strength, but by persuasion and education, that we were right and they were wrong; and while the workers continue in their organization they will continue to better their conditions of life. Go into any of the countries in Europe where extreme revolutionary and radical conditions prevail and look at the conditions of the working people and then compare them with your own. If you ever want to more thoroughly love your own country, visit Europe and investigate for yourself how the workers live, and I want to assure you on your return home, when you see the Statue of Liberty in New York harbor, it will be the most welcome sight that you ever experienced. This condition I am trying to bring to your mind for the purpose of endeavoring to arouse within you a determination to fight for the organization that has done so much for you; to stick to it closer than before; to get every man who is straggling along in a half-hearted way, sometimes paying his dues in a grumbling spirit, filled with the desire to be a real trade unionist, to take special interest in his meetings and in his union. You understand that the man who is not up and doing in these days of strife is liable to fall by the wayside, and the same is true of unions. Organizations of labor must be up and doing, be ever watching for the encroachments of the enemy who is lurking on the outside. Men who are made of the right kind of stuff, with courage and backbone to fight for the things

that are right, and to fight even in the union against the things that are wrong, men who will attract the membership to the extent that the men will follow, should be chosen to fill the offices, and remember that days of depression such as now exist are the days in which the courage of the real trade unionist is tested. In closing this article, let me impress upon you, for your own protection and for the benefit of those who are liable to follow in our footsteps after we have passed away, that it is our solemn duty to fight harder for the union now than ever before. Do not become impatient or discouraged; just take things as they come, and remember that everything will come out all right in the end. Pay your dues promptly and speak to the fellow who is lagging behind, encourage your officers and attend your meetings.

I HATE to deal with the subject of government ownership, but there are some labor men who believe the only salvation for the workers of the world is government ownership. I may not be as far advanced in thought as they are, in their opinion, but the more I see of government ownership the more I despise it. You, of course, understand that when the government owns anything it can legislate laws preventing the workers doing anything except what it desires, and the workers may expect to become absolute slaves of the government. Some years ago the work of a postoffice employe was considered high-grade work; the men had to be educated, pass a civil service examination; they had to be well posted and well recommended, and then have some influence to get to be an employe in the postoffice department, but today they are slaves. Go into any postoffice and see those men who have to pass a civil service examination, high school graduates, some college boys, and you will see them doing work which is much worse than any work done by common laborers who are engaged in excavating work in many branches of outdoor employment. And, can they help themselves through their organization? Yes, they ought to be able to help themselves and they do the best they can, because they have a pretty good organization and very decent, intelligent officers, but they are denied the right to strike, and take from men the right to cease working and you make them slaves. To a certain extent they are prevented from appealing for redress to their representatives in Congress and they cannot openly take part in political controversies. There are so many rules in their department that bind them to their work that they cannot be considered free men, and they do high-grade government work. Take the coal miners, when under government regulation in 1919 and their organization ordered them to strike in November unless they could reach an agreement, and Attorney-General Palmer brought an injunction against them restraining them from striking and brought them before Judge Anderson in Federal Court in Indianapolis, who ordered them to call the strike off immediately or he would stick them in prison. This was government control, government dictatorship. If the government controlled the teaming industry of our country they could enact legislation governing the teaming business which would be similar in every respect to governmental regulation of the army and navy, and you know if a man leaves his employment or deserts in the army and navy, that he would be shot down or executed for being a deserter, and while this punishment is not inflicted, it still remains a law as far as applying to deserters from the army or navy. Of course, you may point to the steel trust and say that old Gary is still working his men twelve hours a day and if the steel

industry was owned by the United States government an eight-hour day would obtain. But why should industries in which the men are enjoying splendid working conditions and are hopeful of getting still better working conditions be sacrificed because of one or two industries where the men are not organized and where they could obtain, through their organization, the conditions they are entitled to if they had sense enough to become organized? Remember this: every time you give the government more control over you, you tie another rope around your body, making you a still greater captive as a subject of that government. The curse of our nation is too many laws. If we had one-half the laws that we now have and they were honestly interpreted, it would be much better than an overdose of laws, many of which are interpreted entirely different from the intention of the one who created the laws. Congress and the United States Senate may pass all the laws they want and have those laws signed by the President, and an unsympathetic United States Supreme Court can set them aside by declaring them unconstitutional; and what is more, that Supreme Court, consisting of nine judges, may be four and four on a question of law, and the ninth man, or chief justice, will decide just as he deems proper to decide. In other words, this one man—the ninth man of the Supreme Court—has more power than the people of the United States who elected their congressmen, senators and President. He can set aside the will of the entire people of the United States, this one man. And, let me impress further on your mind, that the Supreme Court has assumed this power, as under the constitution of the United States they have no such power. This power of the Supreme Court has been questioned, but they have kept right on using this power. Not long ago the executive council of the American Federation of Labor held a conference with several prominent attorneys in Washington, discussing the advisability of recommending that a bill be introduced denying the United States Supreme Court the right to set aside any bill that was passed by congress and the senate and signed by the President, and it was pointed out to us very clearly by the ablest men practicing law in Washington, that there was no need for such legislation; that the United States Supreme Court, under the constitution, did not have the power to do the things that they were doing. However, because that power has not been questioned by our government, we have decided to recommend to the next convention of the American Federation of Labor, which will be held in Denver in June, and will be in session when you read this article, that such a bill be introduced. It will perhaps take years to enact this legislation, but let us hope that we may live to see it enacted, because it is worse than monarchy, that the ninth man of the Supreme Court should have the power to set aside, according to his desires or prejudices, laws enacted by the representatives of the people of this country.

YOUR General President, Organizer Gillespie and representatives of our express drivers' locals from New Jersey, St. Louis, Boston, Philadelphia and New York, met in conference with the officials of the American Railway Express Company, on Tuesday and Wednesday, May 17th and 18th, at the offices of the company in Chicago, in answer to a call from the Company for a revision (downward) of wages and working conditions. The Company offered us a proposition of a reduction of 16 cents an hour, or in other words, because of financial conditions con-

fronting the Company, such as loss of business, expected increases on the part of the railroads for carrying express matter, and several other causes surrounding the business, they desired a reduction in operating expenses, and therefore, found it necessary to ask the employes to go back to the wage conditions existing before the last award of the railroad wage board. Of course, your representatives rejected same and we went back with a counter proposition, stating we could not give up anything. We claimed we were worth all we were getting and more, but we were willing to continue to work for present wages and hours for the time being. We talked and talked and argued, but reached no decision. Under the Transportation Act the case will now go to the Railroad Wage Board, and perhaps a hearing will be held about the middle of June. In the meantime no reduction can take place until the Wage Board renders its decision, and no decision embodying a reduction, in my opinion, can be retroactive. However, I am not sure about this. At this writing it looks as if the railroad workers will have to take a cut and that will be bad for us. However, I feel sure that we cannot get any worse deal from the Railroad Wage Board than that which the Company offered. You may rest assured your International officers will put up the best possible fight to protect your interests and if we lose it will not be our fault. We will do all in our power to prevent any material changes in wages and hours. It was a pity to see so many persons representing the unorganized, the dual or independent, and company unions at the hearing. If all the drivers and chauffeurs were in the International there would be no trouble in offsetting a reduction. Let us hope that some day we may face the Company with a solid and unbroken front and that independent unions will be driven out.

THE other day while discussing the wage scale of the packing house teamsters of Chicago with the representatives of the packing-house industry, we reached a point where we could not agree. They were trying to force a reduction and we were trying to prevent it, and they finally said they were willing to leave the whole matter to arbitration. I said, I favored arbitration; that our International constitution provided for arbitration, but in the packing house industry unless in a day or two an arbiter could be selected, I was not in favor of arbitration due to the fact that I felt satisfied that the union was doublecrossed some years ago in a similar case when their wage scale was submitted to arbitration. You know that it is the easiest thing in the world to hold up arbitration proceedings, if the employer does not want to agree on the odd man. The usual course of procedure is to have two or three men representing the union; two or three men representing the employers, they in turn to choose the fifth man. The employer sometimes attacks the man proposed by the men representing the union and the union in turn is usually bound to attack the man selected by the employers because he may be a man who is prejudiced against the union. If they finally agree, (it is possible, and we feel that it has been done,) the arbiter can be reached by the employer. When it is a question of wages involving one thousand men at two dollars a week it means that there is \$104,000 involved and if the agreement runs for a period of two or three years, you can see that it means two or three hundred thousand dollars. It would be a profitable undertaking for the employers to spend fifty thousand dollars and get a decision which would mean the saving of this much money

for them. The average large employer is usually represented by very shrewd lawyers who are anxious to drive the best bargain possible for their clients, and are not overscrupulous as to the method of striking that bargain, consequently, they feel they are duty bound to reach the arbiter if possible, and we feel in the case of the packing house teamsters of Chicago some years ago, that this condition obtained. It is not true generally in arbitration cases. Therefore I said to the packers' representatives, yes, we would accept arbitration if they would agree to allow one of three men whom I would suggest as arbiters. I named Judge Alschuler, Judge Landis and Judge Sabbath. Judge Alschuler knows all about the packing house industry; Judge Landis has been chosen at a very high salary, because of his thorough honesty, as arbiter in baseball controversies, and every one knows how technical are the points raised in that game; Judge Sabbath is considered thoroughly honest by every one. I do not know either of the three men, but I do know that as judges of their courts—the highest positions they could hold—they are above taint or the least suspicion of bribery. The packers refused and said they would not consider either of the three men. I mention this fact to show you that employers do not always want arbitration that is honest arbitration. They could not charge either of those three judges with being union men, holding membership cards, or of being low-seeking, petty politicians that might be biased in their opinions. When the employers of the country refuse to accept and consider a judge of the federal court as unworthy to sit in an arbitration proceeding, we cannot blame the masses of people, who are not so highly educated, to sometimes lose confidence in the courts. The point I am trying to drive home is this, that the tricks of the game are becoming more numerous. It behooves every one of us to be ever watchful of the traps that are being laid for us in negotiations as outlined above so that we may endeavor to protect our own interests and the interests of our organization. I shall at any time lay any case of ours before an honest arbitration, but it is almost impossible to find such a tribunal. Even government appointees as arbiters may not be desirable and you only have to look at the kind of government you have to see whether it is a government representing the employing class, or a government that is willing to give a square deal to the workers. I think the packing house teamsters' case will be settled, or, at least, I hope it will be settled without referring it to arbitration.

The milk drivers of Chicago settled up their agreement, obtaining still better conditions for their membership—establishing the six-day week.

The dairy employes, also one of our good and progressive locals, will get the one day off in seven.

I VISITED a local union in Chicago not long ago and found the local union paying 75 cents a month dues. They were presenting a new wage scale and were threatened with a reduction in wages. They had about twenty-five thousand dollars in their treasury and eight hundred members, but when I mentioned the fact that they were not as progressive as they ought to be and should raise their dues to one dollar a month, I could hear tittering all over the hall in opposition of my statement. I am very sorry that our last convention did not amend the constitution making it compulsory on all local unions

in affiliation with the International to have dues not less than one dollar a month, and then this rule would apply to the local union mentioned above. What our last convention did do was to amend the constitution stating that all local unions hereafter chartered by the International should not have dues less than one dollar a month. It is too bad that there are some men so far behind the times that they believe they can obtain things without paying for them. A local union in existence as long as the one I refer to would be much better off with a treasury of fifty or one hundred thousand dollars, and it is a miracle that they have as large a treasury as they have; that they have been able to save that much money and pay a death benefit out of the amount of dues they receive. During the war those men received from \$5.00 to \$15.00 a week increase in wages and they only raised their dues 25 cents a month, less than one cent a day. They were paying 50 cents a month, increased their dues to 75 cents, but refused to increase them to \$1.00, twenty-five cents a month extra, although their increase averaged perhaps \$50.00 a month for themselves. Now, then, it is pretty hard to pull those kind of men along with you, to do anything for them, when they are so blind to their own interests. I only cite this case because this same condition applies to others. I want the membership to bear in mind, that if they have a cheap union they have cheap conditions. If you have cheap members you have a cheap union. In this world today, you must pay for what you get. The International does not want to control or own your funds, if you run your organization in accordance with the law. The money that you pay into the local union is yours and the dues that you pay can be classified as insurance against the days of trouble and strife, and if members have not sense enough and brains enough after years of preaching and laying down the law to them, and advising them in every way possible as to the necessity of protecting themselves with reasonably high dues, well, then, it is somewhat discouraging and almost hopeless and that class of men are their own worst enemies. There is no one so blind as the man with his eyes open who refuses to see. If they will go over the history of our unions in San Francisco, Chicago, Boston and many other cities, they will find that the organizations that have maintained high dues are the most successful. Men who refuse to pay a miserable twenty-five cents a month more so that they may have conditions and build up a treasury suitable for the purposes of defense, in my judgment, are as bad as the employers who are continually fighting us, because they are fighting and preventing progress within the organization. The more men pay in the better off the union will be, with this understanding, it is your duty to watch and guard the treasury that you have helped to create. Do not take it from my description of the above case, that I am discouraged, as the light will spread itself as time goes on, and I will continue to preach progressiveness and advancement even if it takes all the days of my life. I am hopeful that the light of high dues will penetrate the almost impenetrable heads of the individuals who preach high wages, shorter hours, and low dues.

BECAUSE the coal teamsters in Boston were forced to accept a slight reduction in wages, as a result of the industrial depression in that district and nothing doing in the coal industry, with the public demanding a reduction in the price of coal, a few of the so-called progressives came into the coal drivers' meeting and attempted to reduce

the wages of the three salaried officers of the local union. What do you think of that kind of consistency after those officers almost worked their heads off reducing to a very small amount the proposition of the bosses which called for a six-dollar-a-week reduction? I suppose those pin-headed union men thought they were getting square with the officers by endeavoring to reduce their salary. In other words, place some men in the position of employers and they become the most detestable individuals to work for. Of course they were not successful and the proposition was defeated four to one by a vote of the local union. I want our membership to know that officers work harder in times like the present than they do when prosperity prevails everywhere. It is hard work to talk to men about coming into the union. It is more difficult to replace men who have been discharged, because of the number that are unemployed. It is more disagreeable to talk against a reduction in wages than to talk in favor of securing an increase in wages. I have never seen conditions as bad for both the officers of the International and the local unions as they are now. Therefore, instead of making it harder for your officers you should try to help them, and the individual who is so dirty as to attempt to cut the wages of the business agent and salaried officers of his local is an ingrate of the worst kind. Unions should be the ideal employer, but when they refuse to raise their dues to a proper amount, and attempt to reduce the salary of their employes, well, they cannot expect any better conditions from their employers, and that ever truthful saying—"Consistency, thou are inconsistent," comes into my mind.

A SHORT time ago it was discovered that in the Machinists' union and several other unions in Chicago and Akron, O., detectives were holding membership in the unions, were successful in having themselves elected to office and were agitating trouble. These men were in the pay of a detective organization, which in turn was supplying information to the enemies of the labor organizations. Of course this is the same old story. I have for fourteen years been continually telling our members about things of this kind. Confessions have been made by those men in which they tell the amount of money which they received for getting into the union, becoming officers and then agitating trouble. Sometimes those men when they are just members of the organization endeavor to create dissension by attacking the officers by bringing up money matters and endeavoring to show where the funds of the union have been misappropriated, etc., and then when it comes to a question of strike, why, they always want to strike. I think if our government would do justice to the workers it would legislate against such organizations; put them out of business, as they really breed trouble of a serious nature. Their duty is to create as much trouble as possible, to the end that they will tie up the business, or "bust" up the union. I could go on describing cases of this kind that have been found in other unions, but I do not want our organizations to be afraid of them for in the end they never do anything that amounts to very much. We do not care if there are spies in our organization, but whenever some new member, with a glib tongue, begins to attack the men who have proved faithful to their trust for years, men whom you know are honest and sincere, then just watch that individual carefully, find out where he came from and endeavor to learn something of his history, but do not let him influence you against the men who have worked with you side by side for a number of years and who have helped build up your conditions by building up the union.

Don't trust a man who is always telling you to Beware of the other fellow.

Don't trust a business agent that gets drunk; such a man is a disgrace to himself and should be removed from the union.

Any chauffeur that loves his "Jakey" should be got rid of. Thank goodness there are very few of the kind and the fewer the better. We don't want them.

IT IS pretty hard for the Labor Movement to hold its own, when we take into consideration the elements and methods that are used and hired to maliciously assail the purposes and principles of the trade union movement. The last addition to the United States Chamber of Commerce, the Employers' Associations and other enemies of Labor, is Billy Sunday. In one of his sermons, (if they can be called sermons,) delivered at Indianapolis on Monday evening, May 2, he bitterly assailed all kinds of labor unions, agitators, etc. Of course Billy commands pretty good audiences. He is pretty thoroughly advertised and supported by the Associated Protestant Church Federation, which in turn is supported by the employers' and manufacturers' associations and labor haters. Billy also denounced the demon rum, but popular rumor has it that they found quite a quantity of rum in Billy's cellar for his own private use. We do not know how true this is, but he has launched out on a new campaign of attacking labor unions and agitators of every description. He, of course, appeals to the masses of working people who go to hear his sermons, and they are usually in the majority at his meetings. We understand also that one of Billy's rules is that he has to be guaranteed a certain amount before he will come to a city to preach—salvation for price. We do not ask our members not to attend Billy's meetings or listen to his sermons, but we feel that he is not sincere, and it is clear that he is supported by the enemies of Labor by the manner in which he attacks Labor agitators.

THERE is some misunderstanding about the three business agents of the Teamsters' Union in Chicago, that have been indicted for grafting. Many inquiries are coming into our office for information as to the position of the International on such cases, that is, will the International allow them to continue in membership? In order to clear this up, let me say to all concerned that no member convicted of grafting can continue in membership in the International Union, and any local that refuses to obey this ruling will be expelled from the International Union. Of course it does not mean that because men are indicted that they are guilty, but the three business agents indicted are not members of our union. They are members of the independent Chicago teamsters, which organization is not affiliated with our International Union or the American Federation of Labor.

WE deeply regret the death of Franklin K. Lane, former secretary of the interior. I had the pleasure of nominating him chairman of the Industrial Conference created by former President Wilson. He was a real friend of Labor in that conference and did all in his power to create a better feeling between Capital and Labor, but the employers did not desire a real understanding except on the basis of destroying the unions, so the conference failed. It was not Mr. Lane's fault that the conference was a failure. Shortly after that he resigned from the cabinet on account of misunderstandings within, but the real cause for his resignation was known to but very few.

IT WAS a pretty cheap trick on the part of the Central Labor Union of Detroit to give out a statement to the Associated Press attacking Mr. Gompers and his wife for putting up in a so-called non-union hotel in Buffalo. It was pretty small potatoes for so-called trade unionists—it was mud slinging filth. I travel from one end of the country to the other perhaps ten times a year and I question whether or not in ninety per cent. of the cities I visit I could find anything like a union hotel, and, I would like to know if there is anything like a thoroughly union hotel in this country? I know of no hotel where every one employed within the building is organized.

It used to be the custom to call a hotel a union hotel if it had union bartenders and a union barber shop. There are very few bartenders and the so-called high-priced barbers who work in the first class hotels, who depend more on tips than on wages, are not very often organized, although there are some hotels that have union barber shops. The waiters and waitresses are poorly organized in hotels throughout the country. We wish it were otherwise, but the fact remains, they are not organized and if they were, would that constitute a union hotel? We say it would not, because in those so-called union hotels we very often find non-union taxicabs standing in front of them; non-union baggage drivers hauling baggage into the hotel, non-union coal drivers delivering coal, etc. However, in traveling from city to city, where we have to see our people—who are seldom acquainted with conditions in the hotels—unless there is a strike on at the hotel, we are liable to put up at any hotel, because, as stated above, there is no such thing as a strictly union hotel in any city in any part of the country that we know of.

Even if Mr. Gompers did make a mistake when he visited the City of Buffalo, it was pretty cheap unionism for the Central Body to be guilty of giving a statement to the press that it is going to prefer charges against a man who has devoted his life to the cause of Labor.

EVERY now and then the stage is used by the employers' and manufacturers' associations and the enemies of Labor in producing some play that very shrewdly and cleverly makes an indirect attack on the trade union movement. Some of our readers will remember some years ago that I wrote about the play "Ganton and Company," which dealt with the stock yards strike in Chicago, and was a clever piece of work intended to embitter the public against the toilers in the stock-yards. A play is now being shown throughout the country, which for the past year has been running in New York, called the "Tailor Made Man," which is a clever advertisement for the so-called bonus system used by the employers; in other words, the "Gary" system of company unions with the workers participating in the profits of the concern. Of course we all know that the company unions and bonus system have been employed in recent years to keep men from joining the legitimate trade union organizations. The employers get behind a certain writer of a play or drama and get him to write a play injecting into it this dangerous doctrine. Thousands of people see the play, admire the moral of it, so it becomes another means of attacking Labor. All the efforts of the employers and the enemies of Labor, however, will eventually fail, for the masses of workers know that their only salvation is in holding membership in a bona fide trade union organization.

CORRESPONDENCE



BLOOMINGTON, ILL.

Mr. D. J. Tobin, Indianapolis, Ind.:

Dear Sir and Brother—Local 333 has just closed negotiations with the employers here and a settlement has been effected. Our wage scale is 15 per cent. below last year's rate. Wage reductions, of course, are seldom popular among the workers, but circumstances sometimes alter cases. Many of our members will accept the reduction under protest, and their protests are well founded. Had Local 333 been 100 per cent. organized I'll venture the prediction with certainty that this communication would tell an altogether different story. The facts are that our local union lost heavily in an "open-shop" lockout which was declared by the coal, lumber and transfer companies more than a year ago. Our answer to this wage reduction will be an organizing campaign to enroll every driver in Bloomington into the organization preparatory to the expiration of our new agreements.

There are facts that furnish reasons for felicitations among the members of our local union, wage reduction notwithstanding.

When Local 333 was organized (1915) wages of teamsters were from \$9 to \$12 a week; \$10.50 a week would strike an average. We worked not less than ten hours a day; overtime, when paid at all, was the regular rate per hour; we lost all holidays, and we had to make two trips to the barn on Sundays to care for our teams. Conditions during those days were deplorable, to say the least. We worked along like a drove of sheep on the basis of "every man for

himself." In 1915 Local 333 was organized and the members began to usher in a better day by the very simple process of collective bargaining, and their progress in this regard is indicated by our conditions at the present time.

With the aforesaid 15 per cent. wage reduction put in effect, our members receive \$24.50 a week; 9 hours a day; Saturday half-holidays; all legal holidays off with full pay; time and a half for overtime, and double time for Sundays and holidays (when work is done). So even a pessimistic member will be inspired by just a casual observation of facts as they are. I believe we will do well to ask the question, What would our wages be today if we were not organized?

Our wages have gone continually upward since Local 333 was organized, and this is the first backward step. Unfavorable conditions were against us this year, but in days to come we will look back and see how wisely we held our organization intact and made progress as conditions justified. We will, on the pages of history, record the wage reduction of 1921 for Local 333 as a strategic retreat.

MARTIN A. DILLMON,

Correspondent Local 333.

The trade union ideal of equality is equality of rights and opportunities for employers and workers alike, equality under the law, equality in daily practice, equality of rights, opportunities and responsibilities at all times and under all circumstances.

The power of the union label is proved by its progress.

Petty jealousies between unions sometimes manifest themselves. This is bad—nothing could be worse; but please bear in mind that the unions are going to live after you have cashed in and that it is your duty, in accordance with your obligation, to help create harmony and eliminate jealousies and bitter feelings between the officers and members of local unions.

In this life there is nothing so dangerous as the individual who deliberately lies about everything. He is afflicted with the worst disease imaginable. There is an old saying that you can protect yourself against a thief but not against a liar. The individual who lies about his union or the officers of his union is a bad asset for the organization, and where such cases prevail and come to the attention of the officers, they ought to make a thorough investigation, have charges preferred against the individual and if found guilty he should be punished, and the International will stand back of any local union in such a case.

By the time you receive this Journal the convention of the American Federation of Labor will be in session in the city of Denver. Your delegates will be there endeavoring to protect the rights and interests of our International Union. In my personal judgment it will be one of the most important conventions ever held by the Federation. Questions of a serious nature are confronting the American labor movement. Let us hope that the men and women assembled in that convention will be possessed with the wisdom and understanding that is necessary to guide our great labor institution through the struggles in which it is now engaged. Your representatives will contribute their part in the deliberations in the interest of our membership who elected us to office.

Always look forward, never backward. Face to face with the rising sun, the glories of nature must manifest themselves and strengthen you to go forward and onward, building and still building, until you, by your individual effort, become successful in making the world better than you found it, by building and making stronger your union.

Throw a half hitch around the straggler in your union who is falling behind and pull him along with his fellows.

Any man who allows his comrades, his fellows, to do all the work in the local is a lazy, good-for-nothing, selfish laggard, a moral coward.

Official Magazine
of the
**International Brotherhood
of Teamsters, Chauffeurs
Stablemen and Helpers
of America**

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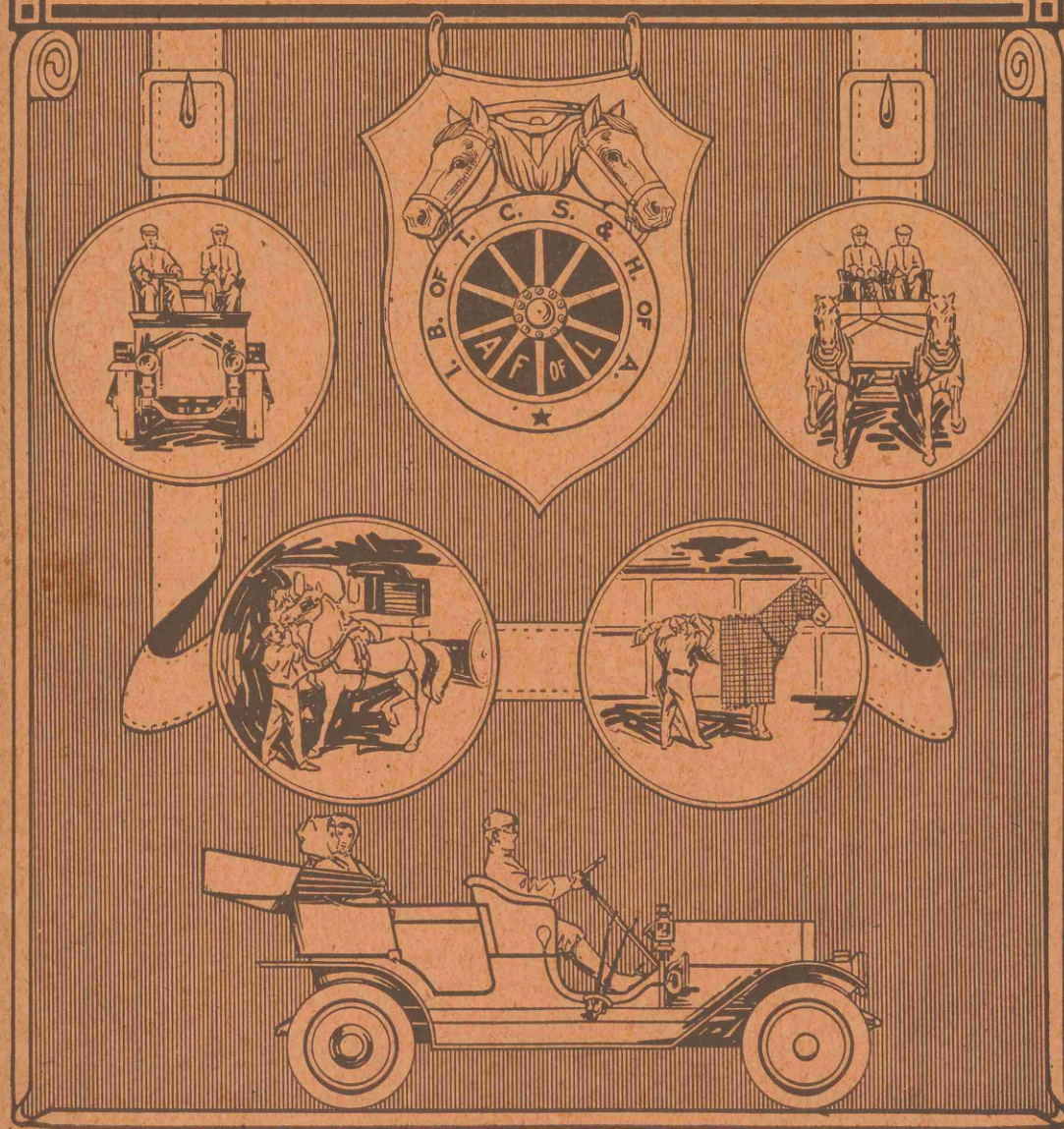
THOMAS L. HUGHES, Secretary

222 East Michigan Street

Indianapolis, Indiana

JULY, 1921

OFFICIAL MAGAZINE OF INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD TEAMSTERS • CHAUFFEURS STABLEMEN AND HELPERS OF AMERICA



Given the whole-hearted support of all men and women of labor, our organized labor movement with its constructive program, its love for freedom, justice and democracy, will prove the most potent factor in protecting, safeguarding and promoting the general welfare of the great mass of our people during this trying period of reconstruction and all times thereafter.

When trade unionists demand the union label they help put other trade unionists to work. Is this not a union principle worth practicing? Be consistent. Do the thing you know you ought to do. Demand the label always.

We should work to make the American trade union movement more effective in national affairs to bring about organization of the common life in broader lines as that greater opportunity shall come into the life of every human being.

Talk unionism more at home. Let the rising generation learn what the labor movement is endeavoring to do for their benefit.

The workers who strike in protest against their wrongs may be defeated, but the public protest registered in the demand for the union label is invincible.

The Department of Labor reports that 28 out of 53 industrial centers east of the Mississippi showed decreases in employment during April against 25 showing improvement. The Pacific Coast almost universally lost ground, inactivity in shipbuilding and lumbering accounting for much of the reduction.

— OFFICIAL MAGAZINE — INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF TEAMSTERS CHAUFFEURS STABLEMEN AND HELPERS.



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PRESENT LIVING STANDARDS NOT BASED ON JUSTICE



ULTIMATELY, living standards must be related to social usefulness, says the A. F. of L. executive council, in discussing "Wages and the Cost of

Living" in its annual report.

The executive council recommended that it be empowered to conduct an investigation of this question and that a report be made to the next convention.

"The practice of fixing wages solely on a basis of the cost of living," says the council, "is a violation of the whole philosophy in progress and civilization. Furthermore, it is a violation of sound economic theory and is utterly without logic or scientific support of any kind.

"What we find as a result of practice, so far as it has gone, is that there is a constant tendency under it to classify human beings and to standardize classes, each class having a right to a given quantity of various commodities. It is not difficult to understand that the ultimate development of such a policy must be ridiculous and fantastic; in fact, it already has become so in many cases.

"We are not prepared at this time to lay down in definite form a policy which we believe proper as a basis of wage measurement,

but we are firmly convinced of the necessity of research and study in order that a principle may be found which will be scientifically sound, and to which, therefore, our industrial life will naturally adjust itself.

"American industrial development has reached a point where it must give to the workers a consideration that goes beyond the bare essentials of sustaining life. Hunger of the workers for those things which satisfy the diversified needs of human beings has, in the United States in the main, been satisfied in so far as the elementals of physical existence are concerned. There is beyond that point, however, a hunger which can only be described as one which demands opportunity for a broadening sphere of mental and spiritual life.

"To measure the life possibilities of a highly civilized people in terms of yearly allowance, or so many pounds and yards of commodities. is a conception which the American labor movement cannot tolerate, and which it must remove from the realm of practice. We realize fully that to substitute the present unscientific, unsound, unjust practice with one which shall meet all tests, requires deep study and much consultation. There must be laid down a principle that will endure. We must face the facts as they are and carefully develop a scientific procedure, in so far as that is humanly possible.

"Ultimately, we feel, there must be found some method of relating standards of living to social usefulness, or production service, though under present industrial management this has not yet been found possible on any just basis.

"There are but two avenues leading to permanent higher standards of living for our people as a whole. One of these is the elimination of waste, either in the form of mismanagement or of undue ex-

ploitation and profiteering. The other is increased productivity. Both must be traveled simultaneously."

MAKE DOLLARS FIGHT FOR YOU

Today union men often spend \$40 a month to destroy unionism where they give \$1 a month to build up unionism.

The union men of this country, as a body, spend no less than \$1,500,000,000 a year to purchase the necessities of life.

Every dollar of that immense sum that is spent for non-union goods is spent to break down the unions.

When the strike is on, union men all over the country send their contributions to support the strike.

They do all in their power to support their brother unionists when they seem to be in trouble, but the little strike which you aid here or there by contributions is nothing compared with the evil your millions of dollars do in supporting non-union products.

When a unionist spends \$40 a month buying scab products, he is trying with a great big hand to pull down the unionism which his poor little dollar of dues to his union is trying to build up.

When a union man gives a dollar a month to support his union, he is very proud of himself as a good unionist. He thinks himself a philanthropist. Perhaps he thinks that miserable dollar a month will build up a powerful trade union movement. But it never can while he continues to put many dollars a month into ten-cent stores and the purchasing of the products of prison and scab labor which is cutting the very ground from under his union.

The union label is the symbol of efficiency, of honest endeavor, of a square deal, of industrial peace in

(Continued on page 16)

EDITORIAL

(By Daniel J. Tobin)

THE industrial conditions of the country do not seem to be improving very rapidly, as stated in previous issues of this Journal. I am not looking for much improvement until about one year from now. There are more men out of work at this writing than there has been since the beginning of the industrial depression. It is true that we do not hear of as much suffering. The sun is shining and men and women out of work can walk around in God's sunshine and feel a ray of hope, and at least we are not suffering from the cold, but next winter we are liable to experience worse conditions than last winter. Many of those unemployed had liberty bonds and other savings put away on which they have been living. This condition, of course, will not obtain next winter, as the surpluses will be used up and we are very liable to see very bad times. I do not mean to be a pessimist in this article, and I usually look on the bright side of things, but there is no use in denying facts or endeavoring to give a false report of conditions as they exist. The cruel part of the whole thing is that the situation could be remedied, that there is no need for such a serious condition confronting us. The cause of the whole trouble, in my judgment, is the political juggling in Washington. If our Government had in some way reached an agreement with European governments two years ago there is no question but what Europe would be in a more settled condition than it is today, and sooner or later this settlement must obtain. It is indeed pitiable—the shifting, straggling policy that is being pursued by the present administration relative to European affairs. There seems to be no uniform attempt made by our Government to reach an understanding or a settlement of the European situation. Since our last issue Germany has agreed to comply with the decision of the Allies in so far as an honest payment of the indemnities imposed. You can understand why Germany waited until the last moment. There are master politicians and statesmen in Germany. The men handling affairs in Germany are as able, shrewd and capable a lot of men as are handling any government in the world. As in industrial, educational, medicinal and other things in life, Germany leads in master politicians. The only reason that they held out until the last moment before agreeing to pay the indemnity was because they got considerable hope from the fact that the United States had practically pulled away from the Allies and had refused to in any way be a party to the treaty of the League of Nations, but just as soon as England and France laid the law down definitely and told the Germans that they had to do business; just as soon as England and France decided to send an army to occupy German territory, then the Germans decided that they had gone as far as they could gracefully go, and made up their minds to acquiesce to the demands of England and France. The straggling policy of our Government within the last year is responsible for Germany holding out so long and is now responsible for the continued unsettled conditions in Europe, and until European conditions are settled with an absolute, clear policy we cannot expect anything like normal industrial conditions in our country. As I have often repeated, we produce so much more in this country than we consume that we must

find a market outside. Europe is that market, and the things they need over there we have to sell, but while they are unsettled over there and have no money to pay for the goods we produce, then we have no market. Is it not a crime that one hundred five millions of people are suffering because of our juggling politicians in Washington? There are today no less than five million men and women out of employment that were working and employed eighteen months ago. Making a conservative estimate of the earnings of this number and basing it on \$15 a week, this would be \$75,000,000 per week, or \$300,000,000 per month in wages that the workers were receiving a short time ago that they are not now earning. Continuing along this line of conservative thought, it is safe to say that out of the \$300,000,000 per month earned in wages there would be \$250,000,000 spent in purchases by the workers, but of course when this money is not earned it is not in circulation, therefore the shopkeepers and other lines of industry are staggering because they are not earning anything; because the workers are not working, and because the politicians are juggling the affairs of the world. It is cruel. It is pitiable. It is uncalled for, and there should be some remedy. Next winter, if idleness is increased, if the workers are forced to starve (with plenty all around), if the wives and children of the masses are suffering from cold and want, it is not likely that they will do so in absolute submission. There is bound to be discontent, which, like a great flame, will continue to spread. Do not the politicians understand this? Will they refuse to see what things are leading to and offer some remedy before it is too late? In the meantime let those of us who are working try to retain our employment, because it is of no use to make the situation worse by causing greater unemployment. Every man who is today earning a day's pay should continue to do so, if it is within his power. Bear in mind that it will not aid in clearing up the situation by having you throw up your hands and refuse to work. The only hope we have is that the confidence of our people in our country will never be undermined. We have emerged triumphantly from every great struggle in which we have engaged, and undoubtedly we will come out of this awful condition of idleness and stagnation of industry which now confronts our country and the world.

IT IS useless to deny the fact that Capital is suffering pretty nearly as bad as Labor. I have no brief to speak for Capital. I do not represent Capital, but deny it as we will, when Capital or Big Business is suffering, we are suffering also; but Big Business is to blame for its present unhealthy and unsettled condition. Labor is not to blame, because we were forced into idleness. We are willing to work, but cannot find any. During the eight years of unprecedented prosperity for Big Business the earnings, especially during the war, were so large that the enormous profits made were undoubtedly criminal. Big Business, in most instances, in order to evade paying its legitimate tax to the Government, in excess profit taxes and income taxes, squandered in every manner possible their surplus earnings. They used up their profits in unnecessary improvements and in unnecessary additional machinery, buildings, etc., and they attempted to hide away (and did successfully) their enormous profits. The result was that the crash in industry came before they expected it, hitting us much harder than any one believed it would. Big Business found itself with no great financial reserve, with a lot of buildings and machinery on hands, and after a few months of

general depression, were short of working capital. It rushed to the banks and the banks assisted it for a short time, but then began to tighten up, so that its wilful endeavor to steal from the Government by evading the payment of its legitimate taxes, by turning its enormous profits into unnecessary improvements, is responsible today for the paralyzed condition confronting Big Business, so the hue and cry is to reduce wages; reduce running expenses; cut down the overhead, and as soon as they do this they take away from the other business men the additional money the workers would have to spend for things for their homes and families. If you give the worker \$25 a week he lives on it and spends it, but if you give him only \$10 a week he has to live on that amount also. It is not a safe cure for this cancer of industrial depression with which we are confronted, which has been artificially manufactured by the politicians in Washington and brought about by the crooked large business interests of our country to reduce wages—that is not the remedy. A remedy must be found elsewhere.

IT IS against the laws of the International Union to send out appeals for financial assistance except where said appeal has had the approval of the International Union. I trust that our local unions throughout the country will not take notice of any appeal they receive which does not bear the endorsement of the International organization. A local union in Toledo has been on strike recently and the International is financing that strike, paying benefits to the amount of \$10 per week to each man on strike. The local asked for the right to send out an appeal. The International believed that it was not justified in doing so in as much as the General Office was financing the strike, but the local sent out the appeal anyway. Of course, it did not have the endorsement of the International Union, and no local union within the jurisdiction of the International is required to take any notice of such an appeal. There are nearly five million men and women out of work in this country today and they are not receiving \$10 a week. Any organization that goes on strike must expect to make some sacrifice, and where benefits are being paid by the International it is the opinion of the General Executive Board that there is no need for appeals. Again we caution local unions to take no notice whatever of appeals that are received if they are not approved by the International Executive Board, and you may rest assured that the International Executive Board will not approve the sending out of an appeal unless it becomes absolutely necessary. We do not believe in appeals if they can possibly be avoided. You will notice within the last ten years that the International has not sanctioned more than one or two appeals for assistance. We do not believe in assessing our membership unless there is no other alternative. The organizations in each district have all they can possibly do to take care of themselves at this time. Again we repeat, when the International Union pays \$10 a week to each man on strike they ought to be able to get along. The cost of living is not so high now as it was a year or two ago, and every day there is some slight improvement in this direction. But some people will continue to beg, no matter how much they have. Of course, if a man is getting \$15 or \$20 a week he will lay around all the time and never look for anything else, so for that reason it is not good policy at any time to pay men who go on strike the same wages that they received while they were working. There must be some sacrifice, and the intent and purpose of strike benefits is to render a certain

amount of assistance during the time men are on strike, but it is not intended that the individual himself should not be willing to make a sacrifice.

IT BECOMES necessary for me to again remind our local unions of what constitutes a legal lockout. Should the employers offer you a reduction in wages or refuse to sign your old agreement, or a new agreement, and tell you that on or after a certain date, unless you accept their proposition, you do not need to report for work—that is not a lockout. A lockout is as follows:

If the employer approaches you and tells you that you cannot work as a union man in his employment and unless you agree to give up your affiliation with the union you cannot or will not be employed and must not come back to work, then that is a lockout. Anything pertaining to a reduction in wages or an increase in working hours, etc., is not a lockout. Where the employers offer a reduction in wages or longer hours, the matter should be taken up in the local union in regular form. For instance, if you are offered a 20 per cent. reduction in wages, your members should be called together in meeting and the matter discussed. If you decide to reject it, you can send back your committee with a report to the employers. If the employers refuse, then there is nothing for you to do except to offer arbitration, which the International Constitution provides must be done—where honest arbitration can be obtained. If the employers refuse to consider the proposition of submitting the entire difference to arbitration, then there is nothing for you to do except to vote on whether or not you desire to accept the proposition of the employers or go on strike. This vote must be taken by secret ballot, and it necessitates a two-thirds vote in favor of a strike before a strike can be considered legal action. After a two-thirds vote has been obtained by secret ballot, then the entire matter must be submitted to the General President, and he in turn will submit the case to the General Executive Board. It is possible that the General Executive Board may refuse to sanction the action of the local union for several reasons; first, because in the district there is no organization that amounts to anything; next, because the General Office may be supporting many strikes and lockouts, and again, because the Board may believe that the time is not opportune for calling a strike in that special industry, or for other reasons. If the General Executive Board refuses to endorse the action of the local, the local should first be governed by the action of the General Executive Board and postpone the strike. In case you decide not to do so, of course, you can go on strike—we cannot hold you at work against your will—but you will forfeit all rights and privileges within the International organization. Another case that has confronted us recently is that of where because the building trades have quit work where they could not reach an agreement with their employers, our locals have become involved. In some instances the employers in the building industry were desirous of reducing wages, but the men engaged in that industry refused to accept the reduction and the teamsters, where affiliated locally with the building trades, were thrown out of work, and some of them have called this a lockout and expect to receive benefits. This is not a lockout. In the first place, the building trades have not a right to admit our locals to membership. The Constitution of the National Building Trades Department states plainly that no local union will be seated or affiliated to the local building trade unless the International organiza-

tion of which the local union is a part is affiliated with the National Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor. However, the National Building Trades Department has not objected to local unions affiliating, nor has our International objected, but in every instance where a local union has asked for permission to affiliate with the local building trades our International Union, while not preventing them from doing so, has made it very plain that should they become involved in a strike or lockout with the building trades, that the International would not pay benefits, as no provision is made in our Constitution for funds to cover strikes of this kind. To be entitled to receive benefits from the International the strike must first be endorsed by the International Executive Board, after laying the case before them from every angle. When the local building trades are on strike and force our building material drivers out, that is not a legal strike in so far as our International Union is concerned. Again, I desire to repeat, that a proposition made by the employers to cut wages, the union refusing to accept same, the employers ordering the men not to report for work unless they accept a reduction in wages, is not a lockout. Even if our men are forced out of work because of a strike, a lockout does not exist, but an out-of-work condition exists, and we have no out-of-work benefits attached to our International Union. I desire to caution our membership against expecting benefits in cases such as enumerated above. We could not possibly pay out-of-work benefits and sympathetic-strike benefits on a thirty-cent per capita tax. If you want those benefits you must pay for them, and the least that we could take care of such benefits on would be 75 cents per capita on each member. All we can do on our per capita tax is to pay salaries, pay organizers, pay strike benefits to locals on strike, pay for the publication of our monthly Journal, pay our tax to the American Federation of Labor, but we cannot pay out-of-work benefits or benefits in sympathetic strikes on 30 cents. You cannot make \$5 out of 30 cents, no matter how hard you try. Bear this in mind, also, that the International Officers would be more than pleased to pay to every member out of work \$10 or \$15 a week, also pay benefits in case of a sympathetic strike, and all other conditions that lead towards weakening our union or causing inconvenience to our membership, if we could do so. If you will give us the money to do it, if you are willing to pay your share of the expense, if you will instruct your delegates to the convention to so amend the law as to give us the necessary means to do so, there is no one who will rejoice more than the writer of this article.

WE HAVE great admiration for some men in the legal fraternity, but there are so many blood-sucking leeches in that profession that we are reminded every now and then of one of those leeches when we receive in this office a bluff letter, stating that local so-and-so has decided to do this, that or the other thing against the International or the American Federation of Labor. You know that some lawyers will do pretty nearly anything. I have known even Judge Anderson, in Indianapolis, to compel some of those leeches to return the fee they obtained under false pretense. There is one in New York that is a bird, and, in my judgment, is doing more to create trouble between the local unions than any other individual in that great industrial center. Every now and then we receive a letter that we know is drawn up by this individual, but sometimes signed by the officers of a local union. Of course, we are not deceived in the least. In all my time I know of no city in the

country that has been compelled to dish out as much money to lawyers as New York City. I want to say to our local unions in New York City and other places that lawyers are no good to them in dealing with the International Union. Just as soon as I get a letter which I know is written by a lawyer, but unsigned, much as I try to offset it, I cannot prevent my mind establishing a certain prejudice against the case. A local union will get more consideration of any grievance they may have against the International Union if the case is not presented by a lawyer. As editor of our official magazine and General President of the International for fourteen years, the General Executive Board has paid out for legal advice or information, or in law, only the sum of \$100. I think this is a record that cannot be duplicated by any institution in the country, especially an institution having such a large membership and so much to contend with. Of course, there are injunction cases against the local unions in which the International does not become involved, and the locals take care of their own cases. It is very easy for the International to become involved in trouble unless we are exceptionally careful, and we try to be careful. We have common sense and understanding sufficient, at least, to transact our business without running into a lawyer's office and paying out large sums of money that is paid in by the members for their protection in case of strike or lockout. After all, the average union official knows more about the affairs of the union than most lawyers who were admitted to the bar a few years ago, when even a laboring excavator, if glib of tongue, could obtain admission to practice law in some states. Again let me advise you to keep away from lawyers and attorneys as much as possible, especially when it is a case of some misunderstanding existing between our local union and some other labor organization. There are courts within the organization that must be appealed to before any court of law should be called into the case. When you appeal to lawyers it only injures you in the labor movement in many instances. Regard them, therefore, as elements of society to keep away from, and especially is this true of the legal fraternity in and around New York City.

THE Milk Wagon Drivers' Union of New York City, a few days ago, held one of the most successful meetings that has been held for a number of years. There were present almost five thousand members, who heard the report of General Auditor Briggs and listened to a glowing report made by William Neer, who attended the meeting at the request of the International, on the success of the milk wagon drivers' organization in Chicago. The Milk Wagon Drivers' Union in New York has been fighting for years to establish conditions to which they are justly entitled. They are now receiving due consideration from their employers, and they will continue to receive the same kind of consideration in the future if they protect their union against the enemies from the inside. My advice to the membership is to be careful and do not allow dissension of any kind to interfere with their present progress. I congratulate the local on what they have done in the past and only hope and trust for the benefit of the milk wagon drivers of New York and vicinity that they will continue to prosper in the future. The International Union has done everything in its power to assist the local union and will continue to help them just as long as they obey the laws of the International, which we are bound, under our obligation, to carry out. No local union in New York or elsewhere will have any cause for regret

if they obey the laws of our organization. There is no union, no matter how great or how small, that we can allow to wilfully set aside the constitution or laws of the International Union. It is a matter of cold-blooded business, running this institution, and no personal feelings enter into its affairs. If such a condition did obtain our International Union would not long survive. The Milk Wagon Drivers' Union has always obeyed the laws, which they helped make and which we are compelled to enforce. Every change made at the last convention was adopted by an almost unanimous vote, and in that large gathering there were only three or four members who objected, so there is no other alternative for the International Executive Board except to put the rulings of that convention into practice. No matter what laws are made, we stand instructed to carry out and enforce said laws. There has not been much opposition to complying with the laws. It is not surprising in a large organization, such as ours, that we should have a few members who consider the organization and its officers from a personal standpoint and who are not broad-minded enough to understand that the constitution of the International is not the work of one man, but the work of the entire membership. In the twenty years that we have been organized we have been exceptionally successful. We have endeavored to be as conservative as possible, using every means in our power to educate and instruct our membership as to the necessity of complying with our laws and only enforcing the strict discipline imposed by the constitution when it becomes absolutely necessary. No one or two men should stand in the way of our onward march to progress, and, believe me, that in the past the men who attempted to run the organization from a personal standpoint, or in their own interest, were very quickly eliminated. History repeats itself, and the man who is not strictly honest and working for the best interests of the rank and file, while he may succeed for a short time, is bound to be eliminated eventually. Therefore, let us work together and be determined to carry on our organization. We agreed to abide by the constitution and laws of our International Union in every sense of the word, so let there be no misinterpretation. Let there be no quibbling or evasion. Let there be no subterfuge or deceit, but every man trying to be the kind of union man that he promised to be—helping to make our organization successful, maintaining and upholding the constitution and rules which we have adopted for the government of our organization.

ALL local unions affiliated with the International Union should meet at least once a month. If they could meet twice a month it would be much better, but a local union cannot expect to continue successful and function as it should unless it holds a meeting at least once a month, giving the members a chance to consider and discuss the affairs confronting it. There should be freedom of expression, and any man who has some thought within him, even though it is contrary to the wishes of some of the others, should be given a chance to express it. One of the great causes for the success of the labor movement is the fact that it holds meetings regularly, the meetings are attended, the men are given a chance to express themselves and formulate new policies without, of course, interfering with the fundamental principles contained in our constitution. Local unions, if they cannot meet twice a month, should meet at least once a month, and in the future any local union that refuses to hold a meeting once a month, except where special dis-

pensation is granted by the International Executive Board, such organization will subject itself to discipline by the International Union, and unless it holds regular meetings, may find itself suspended from the International Union. No body of men can function properly by leaving the entire work of the organization to the local executive board. The local should meet, the executive board and business agents should make reports, discussions should be held, the men should be educated and advised and action should be taken without any force being placed on the general membership. We therefore advise local unions from now on to hold regular meetings at least once a month. It is customary in some places, due to the hot weather, to suspend meetings during the summer. This is a bad practice. The men get out of touch with their officers and the affairs of the local, and it is a distinct violation of the law for locals to do away with meetings for two or three months during the summer. You might decide, if holding weekly meetings, to hold semi-monthly meetings, or if meeting twice a month, to hold meetings once a month during the months of July and August, but during the other months of the year there should be no necessity for suspending a meeting of the local. Therefore, we advise the membership to insist on the local holding meetings and having reports made, especially reports pertaining to the financial transactions of the local union.

THE following statement was presented to the Railroad Labor Board at the hearing in Chicago on the request of the company for a downward revision of wages of men employed by the company as drivers, chauffeurs and helpers:

"The United States Railroad Labor Board:

"Gentlemen—In answer to the request of the American Railway Express Company for a revision downward of the wages of its employes, representing the drivers, chauffeurs, helpers on horse-drawn vehicles and automobile trucks, men employed as stablemen, etc., I desire to express the hope that the Railroad Labor Board will take into consideration certain conditions surrounding those several occupations, which I will endeavor to set forth, and after careful consideration I am hopeful that the Board will refuse to grant the request of the American Railway Express Company.

"I desire to call the attention of the Board to this fact: That prior to Decision No. 3, rendered last year by the Railroad Wage Board, the wages of the class of men above named were much below the average wages paid by other employers for the same kind of work. For instance, in Chicago, New York, Cincinnati, Cleveland and other large cities the men operating a two-ton auto truck or driving horse-drawn vehicles handling merchandise, were then receiving a much higher wage than that paid by the express company, and the wage now paid for this class of work by so-called private owners is higher than is being paid by the express company. I also desire to bring to your attention the fact that the express company is not paying the same rate of wages for the same kind of work in the several different cities. For instance, the wages paid the drivers and chauffeurs in the employment of the express company in Cincinnati are much lower than is being paid in New York, Chicago, etc.

"Up to the time our country entered the war the express company was considered a fair employer by the average teamster, chauffeur and

helper, but the company did not keep pace with the advance in wages obtained as a result of the enormous increase in the cost of living, so that at the time Decision No. 3 was rendered the average wage paid to drivers, chauffeurs, etc., was much below the wage paid by employers engaged in almost the same kind of work.

"The responsibility of the driver and chauffeur in the employ of the express company is greater than that of the driver and chauffeur in other employment. The driver and chauffeur in the employment of the express company has charge of loads of valuable merchandise, amounting sometimes up to thousands of dollars. He has to be fully acquainted with every public office building, every street, every wharf, railroad station, etc. It is his duty to understand thoroughly the vehicle he is operating. It is his duty to understand the public, as he is responsible, to a certain extent, for the safety of the public when driving through the various thoroughfares in our large industrial centers. He has to act as collector, handling large sums of money, as a large volume of the business of the express company is handled C. O. D. I bring these matters to your attention for the purpose of endeavoring to impress upon your minds the responsibility resting on the individual operating or assisting in the operation of a vehicle who is in the employ of the American Railway Express Company.

"During the war, or during the time that the cost of living was continually increasing, this class of employees did not receive from the express company an increase in wages equal to the amount received by drivers and chauffeurs outside of the employment of that company. The increase in wages granted by Decision No. 3 was the only increase in wages amounting to anything that was obtained by the men in their employ.

"During the time that the United States Government controlled, or had charge of the operation of the express company, the men in New York and New Jersey were compelled to go on strike in an endeavor to better their conditions, or to bring their wages up to anything like what was being paid by other employers, and only after the International Officers had solicited and appealed to the men to return to work and not continue to embarrass our Government (then involved in war) and on the promise that their condition would be relieved, did the men return to work. I call this to your attention in order to prove to you that there was considerable dissatisfaction existing amongst this class of workers because of unsatisfactory wages and working conditions obtaining all during the war and during the time that the Government supervised the operation of the express company and until Decision No. 3 was rendered by the United States Railroad Labor Board.

"Let me call to your attention especially that the class of workers named above are 100 per cent. English-speaking and 100 per cent. American citizens. I do not know of any driver, chauffeur or helper in the employment of the American Railway Express Company that is not an American citizen and English-speaking. In addition 85 per cent. of this class of workers are American-born, and as such desire to live as American citizens and raise their families as Americans, and, as you well understand, the average American family demands better living conditions than does the family of the average foreigner. I also want to call your attention to the fact that 80 per cent. of this class of employees are between the ages of 23 and 35 years and 76 per cent. of them are married, having families to take care of.

"The argument used at this particular time, that because of the decrease in the cost of living that wages should be proportionately decreased, I contend, is not a just position to take, especially amongst this class of workers. The average man working on a team or auto truck is entitled to a little more than 'just enough to live on.' Then, again, when a man engaged at this class of work reaches the age of 45 years he usually has to seek other employment, and at the age of 50 no one has any use for a teamster or chauffeur at that age because he loses that activity necessary to jump on and off wagons, run up and down steps and in and out of office buildings. If he is in the employment of the express company as a driver or chauffeur his position is changed and he is given a job that pays less, or he is compelled to seek employment elsewhere. Consequently we are entitled to a little more than enough to live on. We must have something to protect us against old age or against middle age, as the express company makes no provision for taking care of its so-called old or aged employees. Up to the present time we have been paid barely enough to live on, and before Decision No. 3 was rendered I found drivers and chauffeurs working in Cincinnati for \$16, \$18 and \$20 a week—in the midst of the high cost of living—and in many instances the husband and wife had to work in order to keep up their home and turn their children over to the care of some institution while they were at work.

"I understand thoroughly the position of the express company, also the position of the United States Railroad Labor Board, and that the question that confronts you is a question of cold-blooded business, and nothing else must influence your decision, but, after all, the average human being cannot fail to take into consideration the condition of those who have nothing to sell but their labor and who can barely live on the wage they are now receiving. Let me also call your attention to the fact that in the large cities throughout the country no attempt amounting to anything has been made to reduce the wages of drivers and chauffeurs employed by so-called private concerns. If a struggling team owner owning ten or twelve vehicles is able to pay the wages prevailing last year, then it is just to assume that the express company ought to do likewise.

"There are twenty-four thousand organized teamsters, chauffeurs, etc., in the city of Chicago and the same number in New York, and not one of those men has been compelled to accept a reduction in wages. Furthermore, no attempt has been made by the small or large employers of this class of men in the large industrial centers to reduce wages. The International Union has endeavored, and has been successful, in reaching agreements based mostly on working conditions obtaining for the past year. Not one employer in Cincinnati, Chicago, St. Louis or any other city has reduced the wages of the drivers and chauffeurs. In Chicago an organization of four thousand men, members of the Milk Wagon Drivers' local, were able to reach an agreement without a strike and received an increase equal to about \$7 a week—this within the last 60 days. The average wage of a milk wagon driver at the present time is 20 per cent. higher than the wage received by the driver, chauffeur or helper employed by the express company, and the milk wagon drivers work an eight-hour day. The nature of the work of the milk wagon driver is not one-half as nerve-racking or as strenuous as the work done by the chauffeur or driver working for the express company. In many cities the express driver receives less wages than other drivers doing the same

class of work. I contend that they should receive more, because, generally speaking, the express driver is the top-notch man employed in occupations of this kind. Only those who are most alert and careful are employed as drivers, chauffeurs and helpers by the express company. In fact, they have to serve a kind of apprenticeship as helper before they are given charge of a vehicle. These drivers and chauffeurs are bonded; their characters and reputations are carefully investigated before insurance companies agree to bond them. I mention this to prove that they must be high-class men or they will not be retained in the employment of the company.

"Another phase of the situation is this: In some cities, San Francisco, for instance, the express drivers and chauffeurs are members of what we call a mixed local union; that is, a union having drivers and chauffeurs in the employment of several employers. There are three thousand men, members of Local No. 85, San Francisco, that haul merchandise mostly. About one hundred of those men are employed by the express company. The local has reached an agreement with all of its employers, covering 2,900 men in that local, wherein they have agreed to work for the same wages and under the same conditions as prevailed last year, and should the request of the express company be granted and a revision in wages downward obtain, the only part of the membership of that local union that will suffer a reduction will be the 100 or less that are employed by the express company. This same condition obtains in Seattle and several other cities.

"I also want to call attention of the Board to the fact that the so-called weekly, or hourly, wage paid is not a true statement of the earnings of the drivers, chauffeurs and helpers, because those men are not given continuous employment, many of them being laid off one day each week, or one week in their turn, and since the general depression in industry existing throughout the country, the men who sometimes earned something in overtime have not been working overtime, all of which has a tendency to reduce the yearly earnings of the individual. Also when there is not sufficient work for all of the men in a certain branch of the company the company has a right to suspend for a week or two two or three of its drivers or chauffeurs, resulting in the fact that when the men return to work they must use the money they receive to help pay off the bills incurred during their period of idleness.

THE SO-CALLED REDUCTION IN THE HIGH COST OF LIVING

"It is true there has been some reduction in the cost of living, but in many instances the average individual endeavoring to raise a family is no richer today than he was two years ago, and while foodstuff may have been slightly reduced in some places, whatever reduction has obtained has been mostly in wholesale prices, and the retailers in nearly every city throughout the country are still maintaining old prices. Especially is this true of meats, and it is also true of the shoe trade. I can also mention the fact that rents are not getting any lower; they are getting higher, and the wages obtained by drivers and chauffeurs being only just barely enough to live on, makes it impossible for him to consider at any time 'owning his own home.' I contend that every time a working man is able to establish his own home that his confidence in and his love for our great country is strengthened more and more, but with the starvation wages now obtaining in some employments it is impossible for the average worker to own his own home; to bring up and educate

his family as real Americans, filled with American ideals, desires and ambitions.

"In summing up this entire situation I trust that this honorable Board, which has no desire to do anything except that which is just and fair, will take into consideration the facts stated above. The nature of our employment is hazardous, as every man with common sense understands that operating a vehicle through crowded and congested districts in our large industrial centers entails a certain amount of danger and risk, also that we are not getting any higher wages now than we are justly entitled to; that the wages paid by the express company are not any greater, and in many cities not equal to the wages paid by other employers in the same class of work; that we are entitled to a little more than just enough to live on; that in many districts the wages paid by the express company are below the wages paid by private employers; that it necessitates greater care and involves much more responsibility to be a driver or chauffeur in the employ of the express company than in the employ of private employers; that we can continue in this class of employment only until we have reached mature middle life, when we must find other employment which does not involve such responsibility and energy; that we have nothing to sell but our labor, and our wages are now only sufficient to take care of our needs and meet the necessities of our families; that the wages of the men in the employment of the express company were not advanced proportionately with the wages of other workers doing the same class of work during the war; that if a reduction in wages should obtain that there is no question but what the men will regard it as a great injustice; it will bring about general dissatisfaction and will undoubtedly result in the disorganization of this branch of the express business, as no driver or chauffeur will desire to work for the express company at wages which are much lower than those paid by other employers, and will endeavor to obtain employment where better wages are paid.

"Believing in the justice of our position and that the request of the company is unreasonable, also believing in the fairness and unscrupulous honesty of your honorable Board, we hope and trust that you will refuse to grant the request of the company. It is unwarranted. It is not justified. It is not going to help. On the contrary, it will only bring about disorganization and bad feeling, and in my opinion will eventually do more injury than good, as one of the greatest assets to be taken into consideration by any employer is the good will of the employees.

"If you take away from the driver, chauffeur and helper any part of the award granted in Decision No. 3, the driver, chauffeur and helper will be justified in feeling that an injustice has been done him, and he will continue to work against his will, which undoubtedly will not be helpful. I therefore hope and trust that your Board will decide that the wages now being paid the express drivers, chauffeurs and helpers should continue to obtain."

Co-operation is the method of all human progress. When spending money look for the union label, card and button.

A Dry Fact

We fought for the freedom of Cuba in '98 and now we are going there to enjoy it.—Judge.

CORRESPONDENCE



LOS ANGELES, CAL.

Mr. D. J. Tobin, Indianapolis, Ind.:

Dear Sir and Brother—Would you please publish in our next Journal an advertisement for the following brother, who is a member of one of our locals. His brother came into our office and stated his folks had been unable to hear from him for some time and he thought he had been in the Yellow Taxi trouble in Chicago and was hiding away somewhere till it blows over. The name of the brother wanted is Ernest Drullard. He joined our organization in Jamestown, N. Y. His brother, Fred Drullard, wants him to write him at Room 112, Labor Temple, Los Angeles, care Electrical Workers No. 83.

Thanking you for this favor, and with best wishes, I remain,

Fraternally,

G. E. BEVAN, Sec. Local 208.

BLOOMINGTON, ILL.

Mr. D. J. Tobin, Indianapolis, Ind.:

Dear Sir and Brother—In reporting settlement of the wage question between Local 333 and the employers, we neglected to state that one of the employers—just a small fry, by the way—refused to have any dealings with our organization, and he declared for the “open shop.” This employer is Henry A. Riese, commission merchant. He has succeeded in inducing two strike breakers to come to his rescue; previously he employed four drivers. For some time past this firm has operated as a strictly union shop; working agreement with our organization provided that all drivers must be

members of Local 333. Just what unseen influence intervened and won Mr. Riese over to the enemies of Labor remains a problem. He locked out his union drivers when they refused to submit to “open shop” conditions and an arbitrary wage reduction of \$8 a week.

The first indication that Mr. Riese was departing from the policy of fair dealing with labor last year, was when, seemingly to avoid the Illinois Workmen's Compensation act, he discharged a driver who had been injured in the performance of his duties. Numerous calls from the union committee failed to rectify a monstrous wrong done one of our members. Anxious to avoid a suspension of work, as we always have been, we proposed that the matter be submitted to arbitration, to which Mr. Riese reluctantly agreed. I was chosen arbitrator for the union and the secretary of the Merchants and Manufacturers' Association, notorious “open shop” organization, was selected by Mr. Riese. After more than a day of continuous effort, we finally agreed on the third arbitrator. I proposed as the third man a brother of Mr. Riese's representative, but the proposal was turned down because the man carried a union card. We finally agreed on a third man, an employing barber. Mr. Riese, fearing to face a show-down, was not present when the hour arrived for the arbitration hearing to proceed, but sent, instead, a junior member of the firm, who had little or no direct knowledge of matters at issue.

At the outset Mr. Riese's arbitrator proceeded to take full charge of the intended hearing. He declared that no one would be per-

mitted from our side to be present in the room except myself and the discharged driver whose case was in controversy. In other words, the hearing, he ruled, must be held behind closed doors. I had three witnesses who were prepared to give testimony to show that the discharged driver had been most unfairly dealt with and without their testimony the hearing would have been a farce in so far as our case was concerned. Mr. Riese's arbitrator proceeded to outline just what issues of the case would be permissible in testimony and what would not, etc. He was self-appointed "captain of the ship," and attempted to justify his unreasonable position by saying: "I have my orders from Mr. Riese as to what to do." To have proceeded with the joke hearing would have meant that our organization would have been a laughing stock and the object of ridicule throughout, with tremendous odds in Mr. Riese's favor. So, failing to get any assurances of a square deal, we announced that the hearing would not proceed in the unfair and unreasonable manner proposed, so each party went its way. At noon the next day the drivers did the only thing that they could do to protect a fellow workman from victimization—they suspended work. A strike lasting four days secured the reinstatement of the discharged driver, after Mr. Riese himself had blocked a peaceful settlement. Pursuant to a call of the open shoppers, whose secretary was a party to obstructing peaceful arbitration, seems to be the reason for Mr. Riese's lockout of union drivers this year.

It is believed that time will demonstrate to Mr. Riese that fair dealing with Labor is the best policy, and he will prove for himself that "the way of the transgressor is hard."

Thank you, Brother Editor, for this considerable space in which to relate this instance, which seems

to further indicate that our members everywhere should stand by their union as never before and be prepared to defend their just rights against even small encroachments.

MARTIN A. DILLMON,
Correspondent Local 333.

MAKE DOLLARS FIGHT FOR YOU

(Continued from page 2)

the life of the nation. It appeals to the potency of the purchasing power of the toilers, in the elimination of the sweatshops, of child labor, of prison contract labor and underpaid labor in general.

Abraham Lincoln in his address to the Workmen's Association in 1864 gave the kind of advice that it would be well for us to listen to today: "Property is the fruit of labor; property is desirable; is a positive good in the world. That some should be rich shows that others may become rich, and hence is just encouragement to industry and enterprise. Let not he who hath no house tear down the house of his neighbor; but rather let him strive diligently to build one for himself, thus, by example, showing confidence that when his own is built it will stand undisturbed."

A great deal of this strife can be avoided if the capitalists take a human interest in their employees. It seems to me it would be wise for them to take as much interest in their workers as they do in their customers. If they applied the Golden Rule, I am sure there would be very few strikes. They should pay their employees a living wage. This wage ought to be sufficient to enable the worker to build himself a home, to educate his family, to bring up his children in the proper way, and to put something aside for his old age. The conditions under which he works should be as sanitary as it is possible to make them, and he should be encouraged and given promotion if his work so deserves.

Every organization should endeavor to take the same interest in Labor Day that existed some years ago. Local unions should hold meetings during the month of August and devise ways and means for holding a celebration on that one day in the year when Labor should show its interest—the first Monday in September, and especially this year, when a general attack is being made on Labor by the Employers' Associations of the country and the enemies of Labor in general. Everywhere we are confronted with a disposition on the part of the employers to destroy, break up, or at least weaken the legitimate trade union movement of our country. Let us show our interest this year by advocating and participating in the Labor Day parade, expressing Labor sentiments, expressing our loyalty to the trade union movement and to our government, and let us show that the onslaught, which is entirely unjustified and which the enemies of Labor are continuing to make on us, has not been successful in disrupting the trade union movement.

Wall Street Journal May 13 said: "Charles M. Schwab says Bethlehem Steel Corporation plans erection of additional units at Sparrows Point plant, the first of which will involve expenditure of \$25,000,000 and give employment to 8,000 men. Plans provide for additions to plate mills, installation of new commercial steel lines, and enlargement of facilities of present coal piers. Mr. Schwab said he had every confidence in future of Sparrows Point plant and expressed opinion that downward trend of business had about reached bottom. 'The most important thing for business and industry,' he said, 'is a reduction in freight rates.'"

Wage workers, members in good standing of the union of the trade or calling at which they are employed, who realize as a fundamental principle the necessity of unity of all their fellows employed at the same trade or calling; who recognize the vital, logical extension, growth and development of all unions of all trades and callings and who strive for the unity, federation, co-operation, fraternity and solidarity of all organized wage earners; who can and do subordinate self for the common good and always strive for the common uplift; who decline to limit the sphere of their activity by any dogma, doctrine or ism—finally, those organized wage workers who fearlessly and insistently maintain and contend that the trade unions, the trade union movement, are paramount to any other form of organization or movement of labor in the world, are the ideal unionists.

Official Magazine
of the
International Brotherhood
of Teamsters, Chauffeurs
Stablemen and Helpers
of America

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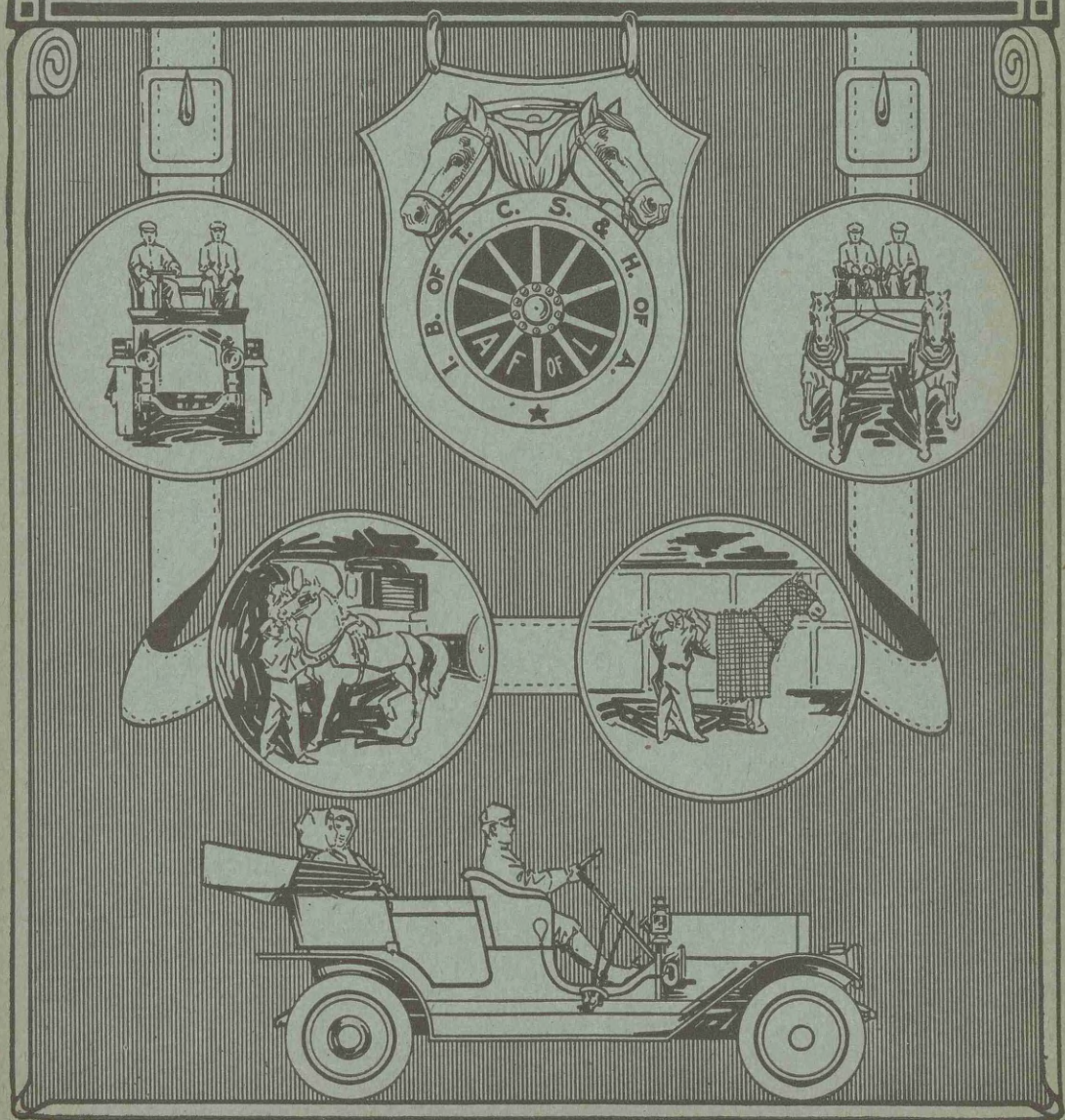
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222 East Michigan Street

Indianapolis, Indiana

AUGUST, 1921

OFFICIAL MAGAZINE OF INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD TEAMSTERS • CHAUFFEURS STABLEMEN AND HELPERS OF AMERICA



The convention of the American Federation of Labor was a wonderful success, not only for the labor movement in general, but it had a material, beneficial effect on the future welfare of our International Union, because of the action of the convention in dealing with the jurisdiction question between our International and the Iron Workers.

Do not forget that even between the greatest friends misunderstandings may arise. Patience, however, and thoughtful consideration of the struggles and confidence experienced in the past will have a tendency to remove any bitterness that presents itself in these days of worry and turmoil.

Never allow a third party—an outsider or new-found friend—to undermine the confidence you have in a man you have known for years.

The employers' agencies are at work spreading distrust in the union, but by this time you ought to understand that were it not for the great help of the union and the injustice of unfair employers that those enemies of Labor would not be so anxious to besmirch the name of the union and its officials.

Unless you are awake and understand the dangerous conditions confronting the workers of the nation, then you are not only ignorant but willfully negligent in your duty as a citizen and as a union man. Conditions surrounding us were never so serious as they are at present, and I am not a calamity howler.

— OFFICIAL MAGAZINE — INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF TEAMSTERS CHAUFFEURS STABLEMEN AND HELPERS.



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REPORT OF THE DELEGATES TO THE COVENTION OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR HELD IN DENVER, COLO., JUNE 13 TO 25, 1921



E, your delegates to the forty-first annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, beg leave to submit the following report:

The convention opened on Monday, June 13th, in Denver, in the Auditorium Hall, which is owned by the city. The headquarters of the American Federation of Labor was in the Albany Hotel.

It was the largest convention ever held by the American Federation of Labor. Addresses of welcome were delivered by the Honorable Dewey C. Dailey, Mayor of Denver, and the Honorable Oliver H. Shoup, Governor of Colorado. A most impressive and lengthy address was delivered by that staunch trade unionist, ex-Congressman Edward Keating, who is a member of the Typographical Union and is now engaged in handling the affairs of the Plum Plan League. Mr. Keating belongs to the city of Denver, is well known, much respected and represented that city for a good many years as congressman.

The addresses of welcome were answered by Mr. Samuel Gompers,

who displayed the same vigor and intellectual qualities with which he is gifted and which are well known to the trade unionists of the country.

The regular work of the convention proceeded as smoothly as usual, nothing of great importance having transpired during the first week, which is usually given over to the introduction of resolutions, which, in turn, are referred to the committees and they in turn work strenuously so that reports may be made to the convention as early as possible.

The first Saturday of the convention, the delegates were entertained by the Typographical Union at their wonderful home for aged and sick members of the organization at Colorado Springs. The festivities could not be duplicated by any other institution. The delegates enjoyed very much their visit to Pikes Peak, which was opened for the first time this season on that day, many of the delegates being blistered from the sun and snow. To those who are not acquainted with conditions there, it is almost impossible to believe that there was several feet of snow on the Peak when the delegates visited it. The Garden of the Gods was also visited by many who had never seen this wonderful work of nature. Many of the delegates returned to Denver that evening, others remaining over until the next day and were the guests of the Printers' Union at Colorado Springs.

Frank Hayes, ex-president of the United Mine Workers of America and one of its much loved officers, is now a resident of Denver. He is engaged in gold mining and he took a large body of the delegates to visit his mine, which is located about forty miles from Denver. The party traveled by automobile over Round Top Mountain and the visit to the mine was both refreshing and educational.

The convention got down to ac-

tual work on the second Monday, and, to say the least, the sessions from that time on were both interesting and educational.

Considerable opposition to the election of Mr. Gompers developed. Mr. John L. Lewis, President of the United Mine Workers, declared his intention of becoming a candidate for the office of president of the American Federation of Labor. It is needless to say that there was considerable exchange of opinions amongst the delegates, nearly every one taking sides, with the result that on the day of the election Mr. Gompers was elected over his opponent, Mr. Lewis, by a two to one vote, Mr. Gompers receiving twenty-five thousand and some votes and Mr. Lewis twelve thousand some votes. None of the other officers had opposition with the exception of Vice-President Rickert, who was opposed by Mr. Noonan, president of the Electrical Workers, and the result of the vote was about the same as in the case of Mr. Gompers. The president of our International Union was elected unanimously, or without opposition, to the office which he has held for the last three or four years—that of Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor.

Your delegates were interested in everything that went on and most particularly were we interested in the questions brought up by the delegates pertaining to the jurisdiction dispute existing for some years past between the Iron Workers' International Union and our International organization, dealing with the loading and unloading of heavy materials, such as structural iron, safes, printing presses and machinery of all description, the Iron Workers claiming jurisdiction over this class of work, under the term of riggers. A resolution pertaining to this matter was introduced in the convention at Montreal, and was referred by that convention to a committee, which ad-

vised that conferences be held between the parties interested with a view of reaching an agreement. We held conferences last year with the Iron Workers, but failed to reach an agreement. As a result of our failure to reach an agreement the matter was reported to the Executive Council and that body brought the matter up in the convention. It was referred to the Committee on Adjustment, of which Vice-President Rickert was chairman. The Committee on Adjustment reported back as follows:

"Your committee is of the opinion that this controversy can eventually be settled amicably between the officers of both organizations; therefore, we recommend that the Executive Council be instructed to request the executive officers of both organizations to meet within sixty days in the city of Indianapolis, requesting both sides to come to this meeting with full power to enter an agreement."

Delegate Tobin, realizing that it was possible that the Iron Workers would not agree to a settlement, offered the following amendment, which was carried by a large majority:

"That failing to reach an agreement in conferences the matter be submitted for definite settlement and decision to a committee of three members of the Executive Council, said committee to be named by the president of the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers' International Union."

The amendment practically compels the parties interested to reach an agreement, and if not the Executive Council will be called upon to settle the matter so that it will be settled definitely before the next convention comes around. This settles another one of our jurisdiction questions which has been in dispute for a number of years. The Iron Workers are claiming the right to load and unload printing presses, but we refuse to grant

them that right. We have been doing this work in large cities for years past. We have, however, granted the Iron Workers the right to unload structural iron where such material is going into new buildings or into buildings that are being remodeled, so that the steel or iron beams may be placed in the proper place for the iron workers working on the building, but under no circumstances will we allow them to go to freight yards or cars and load steel or beams onto our wagons. The Iron Workers, however, refused to accept this proposition. In the meantime our membership must continue to do the work they have always been doing until a final settlement is reached. As soon as such a settlement is reached, which will be perhaps several months from now, the General President will publish the result of the conference or the settlement in the columns of the Journal.

The trip to and from Denver was rather tiresome and oppressive, but the weather in Denver was beautiful. That city being about a mile up in the air, the altitude affected a great many of the delegates, some of them having to leave Denver and return home.

At the convention there were several other prominent members of our organization in attendance besides those who regularly represented the International Union, such as Brother Nealey of Lynn, (Mass.) local, who represented the state branch of Massachusetts; Brother Niemeier of the Milk Wagon Drivers of Cincinnati, who represented the central body of that city; Brother John O'Connell of Local No. 85, San Francisco, who represented the Central body of San Francisco, and a few others. These men listened with interest to the deliberations of the convention and obtained considerable information and enlightenment. Mr. and Mrs. Steve Sumner were there

from Chicago on a vacation trip, also Brother Thomas Lyons of New York, who was there on his honeymoon. Brother Broderick of Local No. 553, Coal Teamsters of New York, and a few other boys from New York were also in attendance.

Our delegates attended every session, answered every roll call, considered and voted carefully on every question, and did all in our power to represent the International Union in accordance with the principles and purposes for which our International Union stands. We cast a solid vote on every question. There was no dispute amongst your delegates. We cast the entire vote of our organization, which was 1,057 votes, for Mr. Gompers, also for Vice-President Rickert. This is the largest vote we have ever had in the Federation convention, and for the first time we had six delegates representing the International Union, the sixth man being Delegate Daniel Rox of the Coal Teamsters of New York City. One of the things that has a tendency to attract the attention of the delegates is the solidarity of the delegates representing our International Union.

Some campaign had been carried on by the Hearst newspapers against Mr. Gompers for the purpose of trying to create ill feelings or discontent, but it seems to have failed utterly, because in the whole history of the Federation there never was such solidarity or such a determination amongst the trade unionists to stand by their leadership and continue to work for the policy and principles that have been the cause of the great success of the American Federation of Labor.

This makes the fifteenth consecutive convention of the American Federation of Labor that some of your delegates have attended, and we desire to express this thought, that it was the most important con-

vention that we have ever attended and from its deliberations will result more strength, more unity and more determination to preserve and uphold and strengthen the ranks of Labor.

There is nothing more that we can add that would be of interest or importance to our membership, except to say that we appreciate the confidence reposed in us by the delegates to our last convention and we endeavored to represent you as best we could in the convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Respectfully submitted,
JOHN P. McLAUGHLIN,
DANIEL ROX,
WILLIAM NEER,
JOHN M. GILLESPIE,
THOMAS L. HUGHES,
DANIEL J. TOBIN,

Delegates.

A MASTERLY ADDRESS BY BISHOP TIHEN

The following is an address delivered by the Catholic bishop of Denver, Rt. Rev. J. Henry Tihen, before the delegates attending the convention of the American Federation of Labor. In my judgment it is a masterpiece and such an advancement over conditions that formerly obtained, that it has prompted me to publish it in full. He explained fully the position of the church, pledging his support to the principles of Labor:

"Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen—I deeply appreciate the honor extended to me by the invitation to address you this afternoon, and one of the ways in which I shall show my appreciation is in the brevity of my remarks. I shall make a very short address indeed.

"No man who loves his country can be indifferent to the conditions of labor in his country. The welfare of his country forbids such indifference. The prosperity and happiness of a nation can be

gauged by the condition of labor in that nation, and so also can the nation's standard of civilization be gauged by the same criterion.

"Labor is the source of wealth, but it is only the labor of the free that is a cause of prosperity and happiness. The labor of the slave and of the peon, the labor of the prison and of the sweatshop, and the labor of the women and the children, all these almost automatically work for an increase of wealth, but they do not contribute one particle to the nation's prosperity and happiness. Nay, more, they take away from the prosperity and happiness of a nation.

"You gentlemen have come together in convention for the purpose of aiding labor to the best of your ability by systematic, scientific, organized effort. You are the representatives of organized labor throughout the world. It is to the interests of every country and of the entire world that organizations which promote the best interests of humanity shall be furthered and that power which is beneficent shall be exercised. He who has power for mankind's good and fails to use that power for that purpose commits a crime against his fellow-man.

"All the country is deeply concerned in what you men are going to do here today, and it ought to be equally interested. What is it that has brought you here? It is your conviction that the condition of labor ought to be made as nearly ideal as it is possible to make the condition of labor. The lot of the laboring man, God knows, is hard enough even under the most favorable conditions; and I have often thought that if all the world could take its turn at hard labor that, ah, then, indeed there would be more sympathy and less opposition to the efforts that organized labor makes in order to do away with the unnecessary hardships that are connected with labor

throughout the world. From the beginning, labor has been considered a curse. In Rome of old, in Greece, in Egypt, in all the Orient, and even in our own country of America, to some extent, there was a feeling that labor was degrading, that it was unworthy of a free man, that it was the province of the slave, and that only the slave should be called upon to perform it. You members of organized labor have raised the standard of labor; you have pointed out to the world in a most effective way its dignity and its grandeur.

"Gentlemen, that you here in your convention are animated by the best of intentions and by the noblest of purposes, only your enemy will deny. That you have the prudence, the wisdom and the ability to legislate successfully along the lines of the purposes of your organization, that, gentlemen, is proven by the history of the past, and this present convention shall again demonstrate that fact. So long as you base your deliberations and your legislation upon the fundamental basis of love of fellow-man, of justice, of honesty, of truth, and of fairness, so long your deliberations and your legislation are going to be successful and efficient, because, based upon this foundation, the measures must needs be those that will benefit humanity and benefit the members of your organization, perhaps, in a special manner.

"There are three fundamental, inalienable rights which attach to every man from the simple fact that he is a human being. The first of these is the right to life, or the right to existence; the second is the right to propagate his species, that is, the right to a family life; and the third is this: that because he is a human being he is entitled to so much of the world's goods as are necessary to keep himself and his family in decency and in ordinary comfort. These three funda-

mental propositions no man can deny without denying humanity itself. There is no man but that is entitled to these three things, and whenever and wherever you have a condition in which either of these three, or all of them, cannot be realized, then you have a condition that is intrinsically and essentially and fundamentally wrong. It is the duty of governments and the duty of statesmen to work toward the realization of these three fundamental rights of humanity.

"You men of this convention, through your organization, have been the most powerful influence in this direction. You, through your organization, have accomplished more toward realizing this ideal condition of humanity than all other agencies put together. God bless you for what you have done in the past, God speed you toward the accomplishment of the many more things that remain to be accomplished by your organization.

"In this country church and state are separate; it is well that they are; but in the great work of human welfare church and state must needs unite and make common cause. The way of working may be different with the church and different with the state, but both have the same object and purpose in view—humanity's welfare—and church and state, Mr. President and delegates, stand back of you in convention assembled. Church and state say to you that no one, no matter who he be or where he may be, shall oppose your laudable purposes. Church and state say to those that want to oppose: 'You shall not degrade the dignity and the rights of labor; you shall not bring back the days of slavery to our blessed land; you shall not chain the laboring man like a slave to your chariot of industry; you shall not stand in the way of that progress humanity is making toward the higher and

better things; you shall not convert the great American home into a sweatshop; you shall not enter the sacred precincts of that home and from that home steal away the queen and bring her into your factory; you shall not take from that same home the boys and girls and stunt and dwarf them in their growth; you shall not rob the cradle to get an employe for your factory; you shall not take from the strong, sturdy shoulders of the husband and father the burden of supporting the wife and children of his love. He wants to bear that burden, and you shall not say that he shall shift that burden on to the weak, frail back of the wife and mother and of his children, not even grown.' Ah, gentlemen, it is an insult to the manhood of America. If we cannot support our homes, then God pity America—it is only a matter of time when the end shall come.

"The American man, above all men in the world, ought to be able, and is able, under proper conditions, to support his wife and children in decency and ordinary comfort and to give them those things to which they are entitled by the consent of public opinion and the traditions of the world of the past. You shall not enter those homes and destroy the family life by sending man, wife and children into the workshop; you shall not tie the hands of the laboring man, the world's saviour—I say it advisedly, the laboring man, the world's saviour—you shall not bind his hands by restrictions and legislation as to membership in unions or organizations such as he may choose to select in order to further the interests of his craft, or of his particular needs and desires, or simply to exercise that fundamental, universal right of all Americans—that right to organize for any and all purposes except those purposes be manifestly and nefariously wrong. You shall not

bind his hands and prevent him from being a member of an organization; you shall not wield the lash over the bare back of labor that bears the burdens of humanity by insisting upon unreasonable hours or by speeding up to an extent that makes it impossible to labor with any degree of satisfaction. You shall not bring the strong American man to an early decrepitude and to an untimely grave. You shall not press upon the brow of labor the crown of thorns by making labor more difficult than it is absolutely necessary that it should be.

"Gentlemen, you stand for this great proposition that labor and humanity shall not be crucified upon the cross of greed and profit.

"I thank you."

WHEN COURTS TRIFLE WITH LIBERTY AMERICANISM IS WEAKENED

In upholding a wage decision by the Kansas "can't-strike" court, the supreme court of that state said:

"The wages paid employes in a packing house are a matter of public concern, and the determination of the sufficiency of such wages is a question affected with the public interest."

Logically and unescapably, the court's ruling leads to one of two conclusions—either salaries and incomes of all persons connected with the packing industry are affected with the public interest and can be lessened or increased by the court, or wage earners are chattels, subject to the laws of trade.

If the court accepts the first conclusion, it abandons American traditions and guarantees and embraces government interference with the individual, as did England in the middle ages.

If the second conclusion is accepted the court not only abandons Americanism, but it places wage earners in a class by themselves,

which even injunction judges deny—in theory but accept in practice.

To men who grasp the meaning of liberty there is no difference between a court sitting in judgment on wages paid packing house employes and passing judgment on the living cost of meat packers, the salaries of their managers, or the fees of their lawyers.

But the "can't-strike" advocate sees a difference, though he dare not confess it. To him the worker is the same as in the days of feudalism and those of Rome. To him the worker must "be put in his place."

And to create a shallow public opinion to support their purpose these feudalists use such terms as "open shop," "free and independent workers" and "the American plan."

During the last century workers forced the annulment of conspiracy laws, but today they face the same opposition, known as labor injunctions, company "unions" and "can't-strike" laws.

In each of these institutions autocracy peeps through every seam and joint.

There can be no middle ground in labor's fight for the Declaration of Independence and the federal constitution.

There can be no substitute for these immortal truths or evasion of historic guarantees.

The Kansas supreme court indicates the measure of the judiciary's willingness to rule and the quagmire that engulfs it when liberty is trifled with.

Future historians will give organized labor its deserved credit for a single-handed fight against those who would destroy Americanism while professing Americanism.—News Letter.

No man is as nearly perfect as he thinks he is, but he can be if he will acknowledge his imperfections.

COMPANY "UNIONS" CAN'T CHECK LABOR

"In their efforts to establish the anti-union shop, and with the hope of beating legitimate trade union organizations, several of the larger employers of labor have instituted company 'unions,'" writes George W. Perkins, editor of the Cigar Makers' Official Journal.

"There has been much said in the public press as to the 'industrial democracy' that was so willingly being dispensed by these employers and the various plans were heralded as something much preferred and far superior to the 'autocratic' trade unions.

"As soon as any indication pointed toward a desire on the part of the workers for organization the employer saw the need of a union and proceeded at once to organize it. Elections were held and representatives (?) of the workers were elected to sit in council with their employer.

"Various high-sounding but meaningless names were given these councils. In at least one concern they have what they are pleased to call 'congress,' composed of senators (foremen) and representatives (the ordinary workers). It seems, however, that the employer is the 'supreme court,' and has the final say. This, quite naturally, hampers the enactment of any law or rule that might be passed by 'congress,' should it not meet with the employer's idea of government. One thing, at least, is absolutely unconstitutional, and that is the right to strike. It logically follows, then, that no matter what 'congress' does it is at a loss to enforce its mandates.

"In none of these hand-made employers' 'unions' have the workers been able to protect either their hours of labor, their working conditions or their wages. It was never intended that they should.

In fact, it was with the aim of destroying collective bargaining that these various schemes are countenanced. It is to circumvent real trade union activities that these shams are permitted to live and have being.

"When the workers realize that a company 'union' is only for the company's protection and that any hopes they may have as workers to better their economic conditions must necessarily be predicated on membership in the regular organization of their own particular trade, the sooner they will be able to solve the age-long problem of the struggle for existence."

LABOR COST

One phase of the H. C. L. that none of us can successfully escape is housing. Most workers are necessarily renters. Rents are abnormally high due in part to the soaring cost of building material.

Much blame for the present prices of building is placed on the workers themselves, it being claimed that "Labor Cost" is the fly in the ointment. Let us see if the charge proves true or if it is as in many other necessities of life, due rather to excess profits and airtight combinations of capital organized for dividends.

Fifteen years ago brick making and brick handling was largely done by hand. The clay was dug from the pit by hand shovel and slip scraper. The machinery used in the mixing and moulding of the brick was of small capacity and very crude. The setting of the brick in the kilns, the firing of the kilns with cordwood, the piling of the finished product and the hauling and handling thereafter was largely dependent on hand work. Brick then sold at a profit at \$4.00 per thousand.

Today we find modern machinery especially designed for the

(Continued on page 15)

EDITORIAL

(By Daniel J. Tobin)

OF course, employers make unreasonable demands sometimes when they ask for enormous reductions in wages. Unions cannot and will not stand for reductions of 15, 20 or 25 per cent. It is better that the union go out of business fighting than to accept such reductions. The International organization will support any local union against a serious or large reduction in wages, or where the hours of labor are increased over and above what they are now. Our employers should take into consideration that we, of all the workers having signed agreements, work nine and ten hours in nearly sixty per cent of our employment, while all large industries today, with the exception of the steel industry, work on the eight-hour basis, and in that industry ninety per cent of those engaged in that work are men who were born in other countries. Eighty-five per cent of our membership are American born and 100 per cent American citizens. The Italian building laborer and the Slav employed in packing houses and in the mines are working an eight-hour day. The question that confronts us is: Why should we, English-speaking, American citizens, be compelled by our employers to work nine and ten hours? Such conditions are not only un-American, but are also out of all reason and against the present up-to-date progressive thought of civilization. Therefore, employers should take this into consideration when they ask us to accept a reduction in wages. Again, some of our unions are quite unreasonable and should bear this in mind, that during the war they took advantage of the shortage of labor and in between their wage scale periods were successful, on account of the increased cost of living, in squeezing their employers into giving them large increases in wages. This, however, happened in very few cases, but where it did take place, that organization should remember that there is some argument on the other side, and now when the labor market is over-crowded, business is dull, the cost of living is coming down, the employer is justified in asking for a reduction in the cost of operation, and where such conditions have obtained, the International will not endorse a strike where agreements were broken by the union and the employers were forced to give up more than they ought to because of the scarcity of labor during or immediately after the war. The International Executive Board takes all of those matters into consideration and we advise our unions, guilty of such an offense, as described above, to beware and endeavor to settle without any trouble. Again we say, and we do not care whether we are criticized or not, that employers, in some instances, are justified in asking for some slight relief over present conditions where they were forced to give up, in violation of their agreement, enormous increases. Our membership also want to bear this fact in mind, that the houses or concerns that our contracting team owners work for are demanding a lowering of rates on their hauling. The employer is crowded between two fires—between the merchant and the union. Remember that he is doing the very best that it is possible for him to do under very difficult circumstances. Also the private concerns that employ our membership that own their own vehicles, they are compelled to reduce their operating expenses because the whole world is demanding a lowering of prices both of materials and

foodstuffs, and remember, before we are through with this reorganization of prices that everything must come down. Can you, therefore, blame your employer, who is confronted with such conditions, to look to his men to help him out? No, we do not blame the poor employer who is confronted with such a situation, but there are thousands of other employers that are situated otherwise, who are asking, and have no other thought, except on the first opportunity to reduce the wages of their employes. Such employers are not only the enemies of the men they employ and the community in general, but especially are they retarding their own progress. To our membership employed by such individuals we say, we will do all in our power to help you, but be sure you make no mistake. Weigh carefully the after-results before you take any step that may be injurious, not only to yourself but to your fellows.

THE long-looked-for decision of the Railroad Labor Board on the question of a wage decision for the express employes, was handed down on July 13th to take effect on August 1st. Of course, we are much disappointed because, in so far as the drivers, chauffeurs and other members of our organization are concerned, we believe we should not be reduced one cent. We stated in our argument before the Board that we were entitled to everything we were then receiving. We gave good, sound, honest reasons why our wages and conditions should be left as they were, but, it seems, we failed to convince the Board, because there seems to be a determination on the part of the Board, and all other boards, to reduce wages, thereby reducing the cost of operation. Of course, under the law, the express employes don't have to accept the award of the Labor Board. They can refuse it and go on strike, if they desire to do so, but, in the opinion of the General President, speaking for the General Executive Board, this would be foolish. The best thing the men can do is to accept the decision for the present at least, and we so recommend its acceptance. After all, it could be worse. The company asked for a reduction equal to the increase granted by the last decision of the Wage Board, which amounted to between 14 to 16 cents an hour. The company did not get its request and in the two decisions we gain about 10 cents per hour, so it is not quite as bad as it could be. To strike, with four or five million men and women out of work would be madness. The best thing to do is to accept the decision for the present and await our opportunity to get back our lost ground some time in the future. In one way, I consider the decision partly a victory. When you take into consideration the amount of reduction recently given by the Board to the railroad organizations, about 12 or 14 per cent, then this decision is a substantial gain. The railroad brotherhoods were preparing and presenting arguments and statistics for weeks and months, hiring the best statistical experts at an enormous expense. We hired no experts. The International officers presented our case in an honest, straightforward, workman fashion, and the writer is convinced that the case and argument put up or presented to the Board had the effect of getting a decision carrying a much smaller reduction than that given the railroad brotherhoods a few weeks before. You must, in considering the entire case, take into consideration the conditions surrounding the general business of the country. Business is at its lowest ebb. When business in general is bad, the express business is bad. Therefore, the Express Company had the evidence to show where its business was simply awful. Then again, the railroad companies are going to make the Express Company

pay more for its hauling. I am of the opinion that the amount saved by the Express Company by this award will have to be given over to the railroads in time because, under the present contracts between the Express Company and the railroads, the railroads are losing heavily on every carload of express matter handled. Again, the parcel post is eating the very life out of the Express Company, as packages are carried much cheaper by parcel post. The Express Company in time will be driven up against the wall unless something is done to check the parcel post. Of course, you know, or should know, that the parcel post department is losing millions each year; that it is not self-supporting and that were it not for the fact that the first class, or letter end of the mail service, is making money, or, in other words, subsidizing the parcel end, that end would go out of business or be compelled to raise its rates. The Postoffice could carry letters for one cent instead of two cents were it not for the fact that the second, third and other classes are losing, and especially the parcel post. As a matter of fact, Postmaster Hitchcock, under President Taft, suggested one cent postage, and Burleson talked about it, but there was the parcel post which was not paying. So, you see what the Express Company has to contend with, and it is growing worse every year. In a way, the Express Company has only itself to blame. Perhaps not the present officials, but their predecessors, as they would have nothing to do with organized labor. They would not allow their men to organize. They would discharge a man if he talked unionism. Well, they beat the union but lost the express business, because, to get even with the company we, for years, advocated the parcel post. We got the American Federation of Labor to pass resolutions demanding the establishment of the parcel post. We worked night and day to bring about its existence and finally succeeded. Could you blame us? We were driven to desperation by the express officials. In every part of the country they broke up our unions. Well, today we are organizing the express employes and the company is not so bitter. We are working pretty well together. We will try and help the company all we can. We will try and expose the parcel post; show where it is a farce, and, that after all, we are paying by our letters for our parcels. In finishing, let me say, I have no intention of arguing the company's case. I want you to know that the success of your employer means your success. Unless the company makes money we cannot get wages, so take the advice of one who fought and argued your case as fervently and forcibly as he could and accept for the present the decision of the Railroad Wage Board, which goes into effect on the first day of August.

CONSIDERABLE misunderstanding seems to exist in the New York district on the action of the Convention on a certain subject—the Mortuary Benefit. Some have argued in the local unions in New York and they have told a legal representative that the convention promised to establish a mortuary benefit in turn for a raise in per capita tax. This is not so. It is a deliberate misstatement of facts. As General President, for the last fourteen years I have recommended the establishment of a mortuary benefit, knowing full well that we must have other benefits besides strike benefits as we go on in the future. At the Cleveland convention in October I made this same recommendation—that we consider the establishment of a mortuary benefit. This recommendation was referred to the Committee on Constitution, which consisted of the following members:

William Neimeier of Cincinnati, J. G. Kennedy of Chicago, Birt Showler of Vancouver, J. B. Dale of Los Angeles, Ed McCaffrey of New York City, Alex Maguire of Philadelphia, and J. M. Gillespie of Boston, and this committee brought in a report, which is as follows:

"On that part of the President's report which can be found on Page 7 of the officers' reports, dealing with the establishment by the International Union of a Mortuary Benefit, your committee desires to say that we heartily endorse the suggestions and recommendations made by the General President. We believe that at some time in the future, consideration should be given this important question. We believe that it would not be advisable at this convention to establish a Mortuary Benefit within the International Union, due to the fact that there have been so many important changes and policies established by the convention which will have to be applied to the local unions and inaugurated by the General Executive Board."

If there is any one so unfair or so unenlightened as to misinterpret or misunderstand the meaning of this report, which was adopted unanimously by the convention, then such a party is beyond our understanding. We trust that this statement on this subject will clear away any misunderstanding existing in the mind of any member or local connected with the International.

Every promise ever made to a local union by the convention has been carried out faithfully. The convention did not promise, as has been stated in New York, to establish a Mortuary Benefit. It simply concurred in the recommendation of the General President, but deferred taking action and refused to instruct the International Executive Board to put such a benefit into operation.

IT IS very easy to ask for the sanction of a strike and also very easy to criticize the International Union when it refuses said request. The story as represented to us by your business agent assures us that the strike will last only three or four days, but the International officers, from their years of experience, know very well that there is danger of the strike lasting weeks and months. To our membership, we say, never vote for a strike on the theory that it will end in three or four days; that there is nothing to it; that the bosses will not fight; that they are crippled, and must have their men. This is usually the talk of a business agent who does not know the game or who has not had any experience. In 1907, as business agent of Local No. 25, of Boston, I had a bitter experience. We voted to go on strike, believing that the strike would last only three or four days. The local thought that we would win, because we had half of the employers that agreed to pay the increase in wages of \$1 a week, but the other half refused. There was nothing left for us to do except to call the men on strike against the employers who refused to grant the increase. We thought the strike could last only a few days, but the strike went on week after week until at the end of five months we were forced to call the strike off. It is true, the employers were broke, but that did not help the union any, except that it prevented future strikes. In Local No. 273, Van Drivers of New York, one of the best unions that we had in that city one year ago, a strike took place, which, in the opinion of every one, would last only a few days, but it lasted weeks and months and eventually had to be called off. The union was destroyed. I am merely stating those cases to you to show you that

you can never say how long a strike will last after it once begins. It is much easier to settle a misunderstanding existing between the employers and the men before the strike takes place than it is afterwards. We can not, therefore, too strongly caution you against bringing about a stoppage of work on the excuse that it will not last more than a day or two, because, believe me, when I say to you, that any man who stops work today is taking great chances—it is a gamble when he can get back to work. No matter how you think in your own mind that you are abused, just remember the thousands that are out of work and not earning a week's pay who cannot find any kind of employment, then ask yourself if your lot, or your conditions, are such that they could be worse. Be patient; listen to reason; take a small step backward if you are compelled to do so. Remember there are other days coming when we will regain our strength and get back what we have lost at the present time. It therefore behooves us to go slow, to be careful, or, in other words, make no mistakes.

I SEE no immediate relief in sight for a change in our industrial conditions. As I stated in previous issues of our Journal, I think that the winter and spring will be worse than what they were last year. There will be no general improvement until about a year from now. No one is to blame but the professional politicians in Washington, who seem to be doing nothing towards settling up our affairs with Europe and until conditions in the old world are straightened up you may rest assured, as I have said before, there will be no improved conditions in this country. Next winter there will be hundreds of thousands out of employment. By that time those who have been out of employment for some time will have used up their small surpluses, sold their few liberty bonds and will be more stinted financially than last year. It is a pity, a shame and a crime that world conditions are such as to cause all of this idleness, unemployment and unrest. There is just as much money in the world as there ever was before, but the thing that the world lacks is confidence in itself. Confidence creates credit and credit creates business. European confidence is gone, and so is European credit. If this awful muddle between nations resulting from the war was adjusted some way, no matter how poor the adjustment, it would lay the basis for a complete settlement in time. No matter how long we wait to settle this question, we will eventually have to settle it and we will have to go through the process of building up, so the sooner we settle this serious misunderstanding and disturbance between nations the better it will be for all concerned, and there is no greater factor for settling this serious question now before us than the United States government. If the United States would go to work with the Allies as it did during the war, this question would be settled long before now and we would be in the very midst of our reconstruction period, which would mean industry and business, but the selfish interests that seem to dominate our government, the jealousies and ambitions, and all of the other evils that control the minds of the leadership in Washington and elsewhere seem to be so thoroughly established that there is very little hope for a speedy adjustment—while the country goes on suffering and hundreds of thousands remain unemployed. It is dangerous to have civilization confronted with present conditions that surround us. Some of the largest business houses in the country are confronted with such a condition of uncertainty they do not know from week to week how long they are going to last. Salesmen are traveling

throughout the country and are not making their expenses, many of them returning home discouraged and disgusted. There is no market; there is no hope in the immediate future, consequently the clouds could not look blacker or hang heavier than they do today. But there is an old saying that holds us up when we are ready to fall—"There is a silver lining to every cloud." Perhaps something may happen. Congress may wake up and get down to business and endeavor to straighten out this world problem. Any time or any day some great change may take place that will be helpful towards adjusting or helping to straighten out this almost unsurmountable misunderstanding. Let us hope that conditions will improve; that greater employment will obtain; above all, that men will be reasonable with one another; that each man will understand that the other fellow has rights; that each man, no matter in what position he is placed, be he laborer or employer, is confronted with difficulties that tax his courage and strength; that each man, although working at different angles, is endeavoring to reach a right solution of the difficulty. I want to say one more word. To those who are working, I say, remain at work, because, if we can weather the storm for another year and preserve and maintain our union, we will undoubtedly from thenceforward attempt to still better the conditions that we obtained through our organization.

FROM last reports our building material organizations in San Francisco are having a hard time with the "open shoppers" of that city. The building trades got into a mixup over the right or power of an arbitration board. There is no use crying over spilled milk, but to sacrifice a little at this time would be much better than to run the risk of losing our organization. Let me say to you again that we cannot afford to finance sympathetic strikes where our men stop work by order of a building trades council or at the request of a central body, or some other such institution. If you have a signed agreement, observe it under all circumstances; allow nothing to break that agreement except a direct and specific order from the International Executive Board. We come in contact with all organizations, therefore, should the printers or engineers become involved in trouble, we cannot stop work. If we should do so, in a short time we would lose that which we have spent years in building up—our splendid organization. Even if a sister local union, affiliated with the International, asks you to stop work, you must not do it until you first receive an order or the sanction of the International Executive Board. Let there be no misunderstanding on this point. It is true that we raised our tax at the last convention, but we also doubled our strike benefits. The tax that you are now paying is not sufficient to meet the increased expenses of the International Union. We are paying thousands of dollars in strike and lockout benefits, and we are glad and pleased to have the means to do so, but we are only paying benefits to strikes and lockouts that are legitimate and approved. Therefore, if you rush into a strike without the sanction of the International Executive Board because you think it is only going to last a day or two, you have only yourself to blame because you are not entitled to the protection of the International organization. I again warn you to be careful and remain at work, even though you are censured by some of the local element. Do not break your agreement or rush out on strike, in sympathy or otherwise, without laying the entire matter before the International Executive Board and awaiting their sanction. Even if you are threatened with

a reduction in wages, do not stop work; write in a history of the situation and the trouble surrounding you to the International office and wait for the sanction of the board, as stated above. These are dangerous and strenuous times and it behooves every one of us to exercise the greatest patience and put into operation our best thought, and have the courage to say and do the things which will protect our union and save our membership from disaster. Remember that the sneers of a few unthinking individuals who by their impulsiveness have lost or destroyed their union are not going to help you six months or a year from now, when you have destroyed your organization by being over-sentimental. Stay on the job, keep your agreement; and with calm and reasonable persuasion insist on the expressed order of the International—which is, preserve your agreements and remain at work. Do not stop your work unless you are ordered to do so by the International Union. If you will carry out our advice in this matter you may rest assured that before many years have elapsed you will say that our advice was sound and our judgment better than that of the agitators who tried to lead you into trouble by having you stop work.

LABOR COST

(Continued from page 8)

work of making and handling of brick from the pit to the building where it is finally used. The clay is dug from the pit by huge steam shovels, it is mixed by a modern machine of enormous capacity, the bricks are conveyed by machine from the mixer to a gas kiln that needs no attention beside turning a valve and from the kiln they are conveyed by machine to the stack or car. A thousand are made and handled by improved machinery in less time and at less labor cost than were a hundred a few years ago. Brick sell today at \$12.00 per thousand, the price quoted being supplemented with no assurance of delivery or, to quote the dealer interrogated, "They are \$12.00 today if you can get them. If the price changes you pay the raise."—Cigar Maker.

EXPOSE IGNORED BY PRESS

"The expose by Samuel Untermyer, counsel for the Lockwood building trust probe, in New York, has been ignored by the public press," said Charles Smith, business representative of the Building Trades Council.

"Mr. Untermyer declares that his investigation has shown that building combines have robbed the public of tens of millions of dollars, and have made America's housing situation," the trade unionist said. "The attorney frankly states that he has been unable to discover a single article that enters into building construction that is not the subject of combination, and adds that he 'has every reason to believe that this is true of at least one-half of the vast industries of the United States outside of the building trades.'"

"What is true of these combinations is true in equal degree of the bankers and insurance companies that exact usurious rates of interest, lay on heavy tolls for various specious reasons and palm off worthless property on those who seek mortgage loans.

"It is significant that the importance of these revelations have been lost on the press. It had much to say of the housing situation until the reason for its existence was established. Then it forgot all about the subject. If it couldn't blame the workers, it wouldn't censure anybody." — News Letter.

CORRESPONDENCE



CHICAGO, ILL.

Mr. D. J. Tobin, Indianapolis, Ind.:

On May 22, 1921, we were about to take a vote (by secret ballot) whether we would accept the year's agreement from May 2, 1921, to May 2, 1922, or whether they favored a strike to force the signing of the old wage agreement. A proposition of a 10 per cent. reduction and luggers and steady helpers to be eliminated on the agreement was the proposition offered by the packers, and before we were to proceed to vote I asked the membership to listen to a few items I wished to read off before voting. I felt this was not the proper time for a strike in Packingtown when there were thousands of unemployed men on the streets and I felt it my duty as an officer of the Packing House Teamsters and Chauffeurs' Union Local 710 to do everything in my power to keep the members at work, regardless of the reduction. No man, nor committee, nor organization could stop the reduction—it was bound to come and not alone here, but everywhere, I am sorry to say.

As a member of the committee on wage scale, I fought as hard as possible to stop it, so did all of the rest of the committee, and our general president was on the committee also and fought with all of his might to prevent a reduction in the wage agreement of Local 710, but to no avail. Now, then, before they started to vote I asked the members to listen to a few items I had written up and they are as follows:

1. Think of your mothers, wives and families and your homes and those that are paying on new homes.

2. Think of next winter's coal and a hard winter.

3. If you vote to strike and get beaten, what kind of conditions are you going back under?

4. Will you have the six holidays paid for if no work is performed?

5. Will you be paid time and one-half after ten hours in any one day?

6. What will you gain by going on strike at this time?

7. The reduction would come no matter what anyone of the committee did; no matter what the organization did, it is bound to come, and a strike would not stop it.

8. Think of the many old men in and around the yards that have spent their best years working for the packers and many of them about to be pensioned, and if you vote to strike and the strike vote wins, you will sacrifice all of these old-time members. They are the ones that made this organization what it is.

And when I started to read it was almost impossible to hear yourself think, say nothing about hearing yourself read, some of them yelled so loud, and hooted, and hissed; they did not want to listen to reason nor did they want to listen to horse sense. What those members wanted was a strike; and after the vote was counted the strike vote was fifteen votes short and every member went to work May 23, as usual.

GUS F. GOLDEN.

Clothes may not make the man, but the better they are the more attention he attracts. Buy the kind that have the union label and get the best.

The success of any local union depends on the harmony and unity of action of the officers. If the officers are jealous of one another and try to take slight advantage of each other no one will suffer except the union that they represent. I request, therefore, that you tear out from your hearts all jealousy and misunderstanding and give your whole thought and mind to doing that which is best for your union.

Remember one thing, that the union is here to stay and is going to be in existence and prosperous long after you have gone. Your duty is to do the best you can while you are representing the union, and if you are only a member remember that it is your duty to carry out to the fullest extent every section of the constitution, which you are obliged to obey. It is very foolish for members who believe that they are the entire works; who cannot realize that they are here today and away tomorrow; that other men in other days will succeed them who will look back on their work either with pride or disgust. Let us make no mistake. We are chosen to help and we should be big enough and men enough to understand that we ourselves are not entirely perfect; that the fault is not entirely the other fellow's and that it is our duty to meet in open, man-fashion every problem that confronts us and to endeavor to solve it by taking into our confidence the men who work beside us every day. There is no greater enemy to the progress of the union than the individual who refuses to confide in his fellow workers. There is plenty of room at the top for all of us, and all of us should endeavor to do the right thing. Give the other fellow the benefit of the doubt. If you have not been friendly with him in recent months reach out your hand and grasp his and make up the misunderstanding, even if you have to make a sacrifice to accomplish that end.

Knowing that you have done your best, believing that the finest quality a man can possess is to allow for the other fellow's shortcomings, standing on the platform "The more Humble the more Honorable" will bring you that real content, that sound self-satisfaction, that spirit of justness that you can get in no other way. I would prefer to be considered just, fair and honest by my fellow workers than to be called clever, able or wise by the President's Cabinet.

Official Magazine
of the
**International Brotherhood
of Teamsters, Chauffeurs
Stablemen and Helpers
of America**

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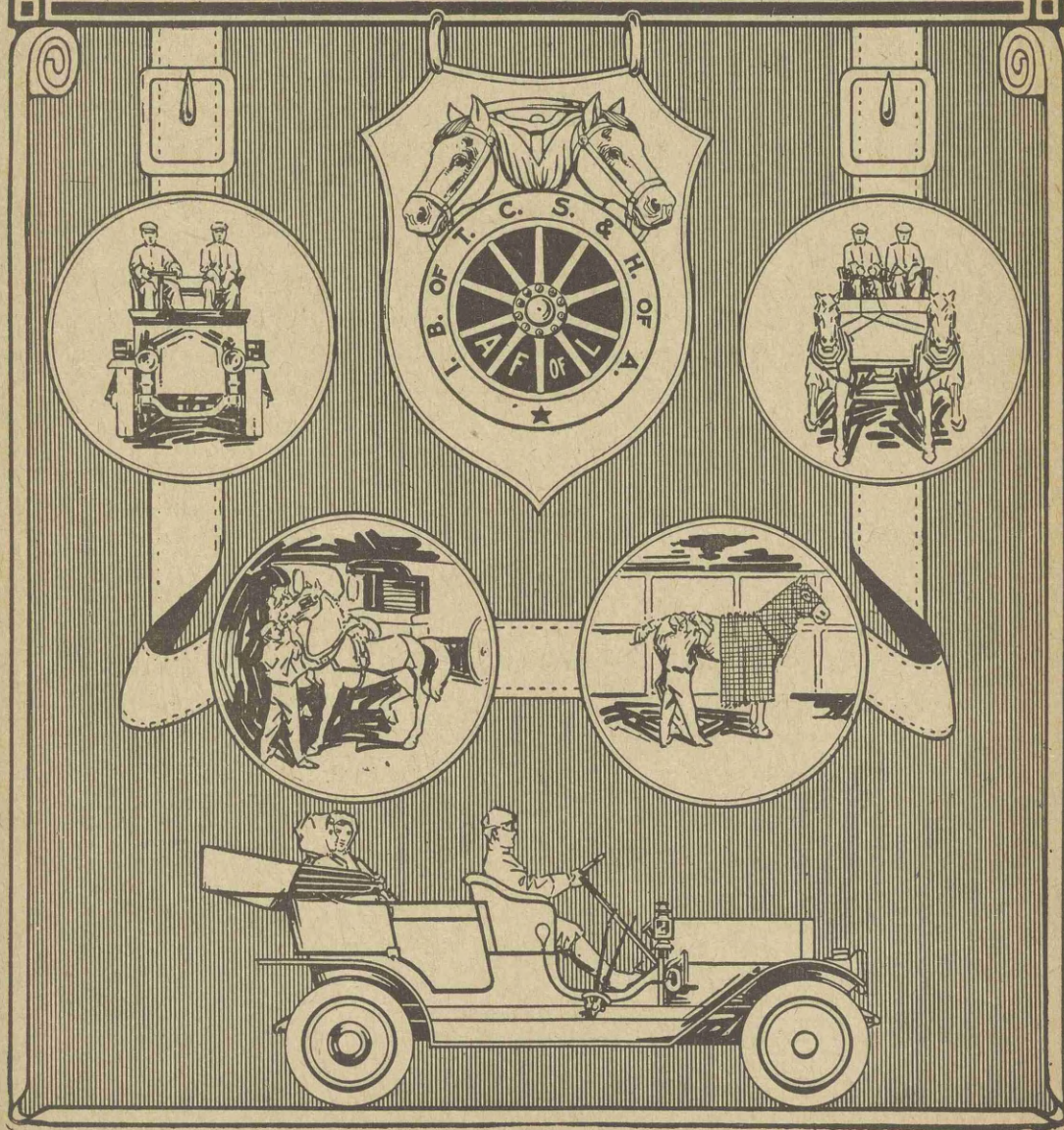
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222 East Michigan Street

Indianapolis, Indiana

SEPTEMBER, 1921

OFFICIAL MAGAZINE OF INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD TEAMSTERS • CHAUFFEURS STABLEMEN AND HELPERS OF AMERICA



What a terrible rotten mind that man must have who is suspicious of every one, who mistrusts even his closest friends, who believes that even those friends he has known for years would trim him at the drop of the hat! That kind of a man continually suffers without reason. The only solution of a character of that kind is that the man is false and a traitor himself and would destroy his closest friend, at the first opportunity, to save himself. Pray God that you may be saved from such serpents and that you may never suffer the pangs of pain endured by those who mistrust every one. Remember, there are real men; men who never trim, who would suffer any pain rather than betray a friend.

One of the greatest comforts of life is the enjoyment of our friends. What greater happiness than to sit down and talk or exchange confidences with a true friend—one you can trust? When, after a day of almost unending toil, struggling against odds, you can picture in your mind's eye yourself in company with a real friend? What comfort, what peace, what real happiness. Don't be anxious to make too many new friends, but suffer anything to hold the old friends whom you love and trust.

A troubled mind can cause sickness and break down the health and strength of the strongest man. Nearly all troubles can be overcome. At any rate, it does not help to worry. There is nothing that could be worse. You worry and cry all day and see if you are not sick by night. Every one has his troubles, but some hold up better than others.

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THE MILK WAGON DRIVERS

[Article written by Mr. Tobin at the request of Mr. Gompers, and which appeared in the Labor Day issue of the American Federationist.]



THE International Brotherhood of Teamsters and Chauffeurs, like all other labor organizations, has had unsettled conditions for the past

year. It is nothing more than our membership was expecting. During our years of unprecedented progress and success, we knew that when the war ended we should expect some reaction, therefore, we were not entirely unprepared for the conditions that now confront us. We are at the present time facing much unemployment, but our employers are indeed, to say the least, exceptionally fair and are keeping the men around and on the pay roll in many instances where there is very little for them to do. This is true of perhaps 60 per cent of our employers. There are, however, some employers who belong to that class that have neither conscience nor common sense and who take advantage of the least opportunity to lay men off.

We are perhaps more fortunate than the class of workers that are employed on a piece-work basis. Our members are usually employed on a day or week plan, which helps at this time and, although at certain times they are compelled to hustle and rush, they usually have

an opportunity of resting after they deliver a load to a waiting train or steamer. While our membership, in some instances, have been compelled to accept slight reductions, they have been quite successful in other places in obtaining a betterment of working conditions. Wherever, because of general industrial conditions, we were compelled to accept a reduction in wages, it was only accepted temporarily and the employers are fully aware of our intention to demand a return of that which we have just now given up as soon as conditions improve, and, believe me, when I tell you we are going to get it back. As I stated before, we were quite successful in some places in advancing. In Chicago, since that city became anything of importance, the Milk Wagon Drivers have been working seven days each week. The argument was that the people must have milk on Sunday as well as any other day. This year that local of 4,000 members decided that they were just as good as any other class of workers, and on the first day of April, said: "After May 1st we desire a six-day week without any reduction in wages." The employers howled and kicked, but on April 30th, knowing the men were determined, granted the request of the union, and for the first time in the history of this, or any other country, those 4,000 milk wagon drivers got a six-day week with seven days' pay, or without any reduction in wages. When you take into consideration that the average wage of this membership is about \$45.00 per week, you will understand what it means. The dairy employes, about 2,000 members, which includes those who fill the bottles and wash them, also get the six-day week. The dairy employes are also affiliated with our International. Of course, milk will be delivered on Sunday. All the drivers do not lay off on Sunday, oh, no! A certain number of men lay off

each day and the extra men, or general routeman, take the places or do the work of the men that are off, so the public is not inconvenienced—it gets its milk every day as before. A few years ago the employers would have said that we were crazy to think of such a thing as a six-day week for milk wagon drivers, but the only difference it made was to add about 600 men to the local, giving employment to that number of idle men. Of course, at the present time things look bad all over the country; men are idle and some discontent prevails, but the men are sticking to their unions. Conditions in our country are better than in any other country in the world, and I am just as confident that everything will come out all right in the end as I am that the sun will shine again, and from this great industrial depression the labor movement will emerge stronger and more determined to fight for its rights than ever before. I am one of those who believe that our great movement is of such help to humanity that it cannot, it must not and it will not fail, no matter what else fails.

SERMON BY REV. H. L. McMENAMIN

The following is a copy of the sermon delivered by the Rev. Hugh L. McMenemy of Denver before the delegates to the American Federation of Labor convention who visited the cathedral while in that city. I think it is the strongest and most outspoken sermon of its kind ever delivered in any church. Only those who heard this sermon delivered from the pulpit of this Catholic Church and witnessed the expression of the speaker in telling the story of his early life and his struggles as a boy working in the coal mines can appreciate the real sensation of this sermon, because it can not be described by any writer. This man is one of the

most respected clergymen in the city of Denver. His audience was very large and representative. Business men of every description were present and I shall never forget the preacher and his words. It was the first time in the history of the Church that such plain, outspoken language was used; where a clergyman, without the least hesitancy came out against the "open shop," and expressed much sympathy for the working class. If the convention in Denver succeeded in doing nothing else it brought to its fold courageous men of the type of the men who delivered this sermon. Father McMenamin is not a young man. He is pretty well advanced in years, perhaps over sixty. His congregation is said to be one of the largest and perhaps the wealthiest in the West, but wealth does not count with him, for, as he said himself, his friends, like the friends of Jesus Christ, are among the poor and down-trodden—the working people. He has dedicated his life to the services of his God and in making the statements contained in this sermon he defies even many of the leaders of his own church:

"Unless Your Justice Abounds
More Than That of the Scribes
and Pharisees, You Shall
Not Enter Into the
Kingdom of
Heaven"

Since time immemorial, dear brethren, these words, taken from the Gospel read in today's Mass, have been used in Catholic pulpits as a text to inculcate the virtue of justice. And by a pleasing coincidence, the Church presents this Gospel and these words for our consideration in the midst of the deliberations of men gathered together from every part of our land, for the purpose of protecting the rights and obtaining a greater measure of justice for millions of their fellows.

To those, therefore, who find

fault with the Church and with churchmen for what they call meddling in spheres that are foreign to our purpose, I point, first of all, to my text and quoting from no less authorities than Pope Pius the Tenth and Benedict the Fifteenth, I say to them, that the social question and the controversy connected therewith regarding the conditions and hours of labor, salaries or strikes, are not of a purely economic character, for although these problems arise in the material order, they are moral problems in their very essence and can be settled only by having recourse to the fundamental principles of justice and charity, as propounded by that divinely constituted teacher, the Catholic Church.

The Church or churchman, therefore, that does not take cognizance of or use the weight of it or his influence towards a just solution of these problems, is recreant to a sacred trust, and never was there greater need of the church and her mighty influence for the settlement of these problems than today.

The currents and undercurrents of the world were never moving more swiftly. Never was an age more electrified with new thought and new aspirations; never was greed more insolent, and never were the masses so awake to their own strength. Never did capital possess such far-reaching power, and never was labor so animated and aggressive.

Two great and antagonistic forces are at work in the world today. Broadly speaking, they may be called justice and truth on the one hand, injustice and falsehood on the other. Or, in a more practical sense, we may call it brotherhood against greed; liberty against despotism; equal rights against special privileges; democracy against aristocracy; God against Mammon.

These two forces under one form or other have battled through the ages. At times falsehood and injustice seem to triumph, but invariably truth and justice fought their way to victory. And that undoubtedly will be the outcome of the great industrial conflict which the world faces today. The last half-century saw the beginning of what might be called the age of big business in our country—an age of marvelous material progress; an age that saw our great country take the foremost place of power and influence in the ranks of nations; an age that saw individual fortunes grow to amounts that staggered the imagination, but an age that left the toiling millions, like that traveler in the Gospel, starved, bleeding and moaning by the wayside. For well nigh fifty years wealth and capital, politician and lawmaker, society and state gazed upon that moaning figure, then passed on unheeding. It remained for the poor themselves to be the good Samaritan, and through organized labor they have drawn near and are binding up his wounds, and before the present conflict ends they shall have placed him safely in the inn.

Although this conflict may not be, and, thank God, I believe it will not be, at least in our land, a conflict of arms, it will be none the less real for that, and whilst the battle rages you will find the Catholic Church taking her position between the masses and the classes, using all the force of her far-flung power and influence to save the nation from despotism on the one hand and anarchy on the other.

Let us not deceive ourselves. There are wrongs to be righted; wrongs that cry aloud to Heaven. For whilst it is true that the poor will be with us always, unavoidable conditions, the very inequalities of our physical and mental attainments, together with sickness, accident and death, will always give

us the poor, still there is no excuse for an economic system which in our land of peace and plenty produces millions of well-nigh starving men, women and children. There is no valid excuse for the conditions of a system which enables the rich to grow richer, while the poor grow poorer; which enables the few to increase their wealth by thousands and hundreds of thousands of dollars annually, whilst those who sweat in blood to enable them to do so have scarce a living wage.

It is towards the correction of such conditions that the church bends her efforts today and solicits the aid of each right-minded man. And she begs of you, gentlemen, that the conflict be so fought that man's inalienable right to the possession of property and the fruits of his labor may be safeguarded, and that it be so fought that the wage-slave shall be free. They will tell you to leave well enough alone, to cease your agitation, to cast aside discontent, but no—that is the province of the brute. Man, the child of God, the heir to Heaven, was born to strive. And discontent is noble when justice is our aim.

Too long have we been preaching the doctrine of resignation to labor. Too long have we been pointing to a home beyond the skies where poverty and privation will cease and justice be meted out to all. How ironical the solution that held out death as the only means to right the wrongs of the poor. There is nothing in the teaching of Christ, or in the economy of Christianity, to merit such a solution. And so, whilst the doctrine of resignation and bread temporarily to satisfy their hunger might have satisfied a race of slaves, it is vain and futile today. It is no longer a question of bread and butter only, a question of higher wages, but a question of fundamental principles. No longer can employers hope to satisfy their former slaves by the build-

ing of a few clubrooms and medical dispensaries. Justice, not charity, is our aim.

Men are going to demand the rights of men. Not much longer will they submit to be placed on the level of raw material and pieces of machinery. Not much longer will women be handed over to be the merciless prey of capitalists—to be engaged in occupations which rob them of the very purpose of their existence—motherhood. Not much longer will capitalists traffic in the sweat and blood of children, robbing them of their God-given right to an education. Why, brethren, millions of people in this land of ours never have and never will realize the essential conditions for human development. Huddled in houses that are poorly built and poorly equipped, whole families occupying the same sleeping apartment; fathers, mothers, children slaving in factories, stores and sweat-shops, and the combined salaries scarcely sufficient to keep the wolf from the door, unable to save a dollar, with the specter of unemployment ever staring them in the face.

What is there in the nature of things to make such a condition necessary? Nothing. The goods of this world are more than sufficient to supply the needs of all. On every side fortunes are being acquired and heaped up for individuals in amounts so great that it is quite impossible for the possessor either to control its acquisition or its outlay. Such conditions are unnatural and abnormal and must be corrected.

Before speaking of remedies let us inquire into the cause of the present unequal and unjust distribution of wealth. St. Paul did not hesitate to say, "The desire for money is the root of all evil." If it were true in his day, how much more so today? Our blessed Savior says, "We cannot serve two masters." "We cannot serve God and

Mammon." It is this unholy greed, this passionate desire for gain, which makes the laborer of today the capitalist of tomorrow, and there are those among your number, gentlemen, I doubt not, who, were they to become the possessor of a million today, would join the ranks of capital tomorrow to crush the cause of labor. Never before did this passionate greed for gain so clutch the hearts of men with its relentless, soul-killing grasp. Wars might rage, brave-souled men might give their lives in holy sacrifice for a wondrous cause, pestilence might stalk abroad, leaving suffering and death in its cruel path, but the gold-ridden worshipers of Mammon, the profiteers stand with open maw, like beasts of prey, waiting for their victims. So that it came to pass that during the very period of the war, when millions were making sacrifices on the holy altar of liberty, thirty thousand names were added to the list of American millionaires.

It is this unholy greed that has created the monopolies and trusts that have well-nigh killed competition and robbed labor of its freedom. To this same greed is naturally traced every other abuse and injustice in the industrial world—long hours, low wages, sweat-shops, child and women labor and the like. And from this greed and the opportunities it gave the wealthy has grown that other evil, the lavish expenditure of wealth upon extravagant and useless luxuries. Whole armies of human beings are kept slaving night and day to satisfy this inordinate and sinful craving. I say sinful, for no man is entitled to a luxury that deprives another of a necessity. Drawn to the industrial centers, this army of toilers spend their time in shop or factory for the exclusive benefit of those who idle away a useless existence in perfumed parlor or drawing-room.

And all the while the goodly acres which they might have cultivated remaining unproductive. And as a consequence the very necessities of life sell at forbidden prices.

Luxuries are only permissible when all have been supplied with necessities. Why, therefore, should armies of men, women and children be occupied in creating luxuries for the idle rich when they might be creating food and clothing for the starving, struggling poor? Such are the causes.

Before hinting at a remedy let me briefly tell you the story of a boy:

Back in a coal-mining town of Pennsylvania years ago a little boy of ten years was playing with his fellows one afternoon with heart glad and untroubled. To him in the midst of his play came a messenger to tell him that he was wanted at home. His father had been seriously hurt in the mines and his mother needed him. With a sob in his throat and fear gripping his heart, he sped as fast as his little feet would carry him to find upon his arrival kind-hearted neighbors bending over the prostrate figure of his swooning mother, while other hands carried his father into the house and there laid him on a bed from which he did not move for eighteen months.

By the accident to his father the little boy was compelled to become a wage-earner in order to add to the family's meager store, for this coal company paid no more attention to the injured miner after he became unproductive so far as their business was concerned. He was as good as dead so far as they were concerned. So the day after the accident to his father the little boy took up his dinner pail and applied for work in the mine where his father had worked. He was given employment which was better suited to a boy than a man, but for which he received the munificent pay of 30 cents a day—one

dollar and eighty cents a week—ninety-three dollars and sixty cents a year—for a ten-hour day.

At night he sat by his father's bedside and said the lessons which laid the foundation of his future, and while he has not had the material success which has come to others, he has prospered and is able to and does give out of the salary he earns one-third to the poor and the needy.

That boy is talking to you this morning and he is thanking God for the labor organizations, for to them we owe every concession that has been forced from the reluctant hand of capital. I thank God for the labor organizations that have already raised the wage and shortened the hours of labor. I thank God for the labor organizations which during the past year have proven themselves the most potent force in the land to hold Bolshevism and anarchy in check. And he is praying to God to bless and give these same labor organizations the power to force upon the nation legislation that will rescue women from the degrading occupation of competing with men and save children from industrial slavery and obtain for them an education. I pray God that they may not give up the struggle until they have made collective bargaining universal in our land and have so perfected it that every man will become a profit-sharer in the enterprise he is helping.

And since collective bargaining is apparently accepted by all as the best and most efficacious means, and since it cannot be made effective except through a closed shop, then we must stand for that principle. I am conscious of the fact that there are those, and many of them, who will declare that in advocating a closed shop that I am trampling on fundamental principles—the right of the individual to join or not join the union, as he sees fit. My answer is that there

are many personal rights and privileges which you and I are forced to sacrifice for higher rights and higher principles demanded by the common good, and this, some of us believe, is one of them.

Were it possible for us to reach and touch the minds and hearts of capital on the one hand and labor on the other with the salutary doctrines of justice and charity, then it were not necessary to demand the sacrifice of personal rights. So in default of conscience, justice must turn to the state and invoke the civil powers to secure by law a fair distribution of the country's wealth. And in default of laws, justice turns to strikes and, if needs be, to the closed shop.

May I not, in passing, warn you against too much legislation, and suggest that you use all your influence to prevent your opponents from creating the same evil. For of the two evils that threaten us—anarchy and despotism—I am convinced we must fear state despotism the more. In our anxiety to escape anarchy we have been drifting towards the opposite extreme. There is a tendency today towards the over-centralization of power, towards the supremacy of the state. The rights of commonwealths, the rights of the family, the rights of the individual, are being ruthlessly trampled upon.

Under the stress of war men were patient, but war over, the time comes when patience ceases to be a virtue and the people awake to the injustice of the usurpation of their inalienable rights and then rebellion is at hand.

A few examples: I am not here to condemn prohibition. On the contrary, I thank God for the inestimable good it has brought to our land, and God help us should the so-called liquor interests undo all we have done, but I am convinced that prohibition overshot the mark in insisting upon the radical bone-dry legislation and in forcing the

Eighteenth Amendment upon the people under the abnormal conditions of war-time. They have encroached so far upon state and individual rights that any attempt to make it permanently effective will end in failure. Under that amendment and the manner in which it is being enforced, the old principle that every man's house is his castle and that a man is innocent until proved guilty, are being ruthlessly cast aside, and the powers granted to a policeman would put to shame the former czars of Russia.

This is but one instance of state domination. We might cite undue censorship of the public press, a tendency towards national educational autocracy, as evidenced recently by the Smith-Towner bill, anti-strike legislation and excessive executive power or authority. To prevent this danger you must use all the influence of your powerful organization.

In conclusion, may I not sound a word of warning to labor. "The public be damned," is an apt summing up of the general attitude maintained by capitalists through many years towards the body politic. Most unfortunately, during recent years labor has installed many leaders who have acted upon the same principle. Such leaders are alienating the friends of labor and postponing the day of justice. Let labor do a thorough job of housecleaning. Let them not stoop to use starving women and children as the club with which to intimidate capital. Strike at the pocketbook of capital if you will, but do not strike at the public.

The rank and file of the American people are justice-loving. Labor's long battle is just and it need not violate the rights of the public or defy the laws to win. If the action of the law does not sufficiently protect the rights of labor, the American way is not to shoot the judge, but to change the law. It

may be that labor organizations do not always open their meetings with prayer, but if there be any corporation whose directors so open their meetings, I am yet to learn of them. And there is the difficulty. In our labor difficulties as in many others, we have been striving to solve the equation with God, the chief factor, omitted. It cannot be done.

And, therefore, capital on the one hand and labor on the other must ultimately turn to Christian principles as voiced by that divinely appointed teacher, the Catholic Church. Until that is done we shall have an occasional truce by injunction, based upon technicalities, but never a lasting peace based upon justice. But of what use is the church, though her principles be lofty, to the cause of labor unless the body politic becomes informed with these principles, and that it be so informed becomes the solemn duty, the sacred and abiding obligation of every Catholic delegate in the ranks of labor. If labor is to right her wrongs it must be through your leadership. It must be through the leadership of men who are imbued with these lofty principles. Leaders like Terence V. Powderly, whose sterling qualities and lofty principles won the admiration of Cardinal Gibbons and saved the Knights of Labor from condemnation. Men like John Mitchell, who won the respect and forced the admiration of the country's leading thinkers and led three hundred thousand coal miners in Pennsylvania to bloodless victory.

And to whom should we look for such leadership if not to you Catholic delegates to the American Federation of Labor? You, who in baptism have been made children of God and heirs to the kingdom of Heaven; you, who in confirmation were made soldiers of Christ, standard-bearers in the army of God; you whose richest inher-

itance, your Catholic faith, has given you a platform in which the world has never found a flaw. See to it that your various organizations are guided by the principles of that platform, and you will have molded a public opinion in favor of labor that will force justice from your oppressors.

In thanking God for organized labor, as I have done today, and in denouncing the present unjust distribution of wealth, in advocating the principle of collective bargaining, and standing for a closed shop, in warning you against socialism on the one hand and state despotism on the other, I have been expressing no mere personal opinion. I but reiterate the teachings of a Leo the Thirteenth, a Pius the Tenth and a Benedict the Fifteenth. I but take my stand upon the platform of a Manning of England, a Gibbons of Baltimore, an O'Connell of Boston, a Tihen of Denver. I but voice the official pronouncement of the Catholic hierarchy of America!

It is, as a rule, safe to trust human beings. Comparatively few are unfair, if you are fair yourself.

Troubles and apparent difficulties are but stepping-stones to progress—the most practical way of learning—and as Greeley said: "The way to resume is to resume."

There is nothing that will take the place of work either to gain success or to gain happiness or to gain both—and it is possible to gain both if in striving and working for success the dollar is not put above the man.

One can and must keep faith with and in one's self.

God is not mocked.

One's only enemy is one's self. In the ultimate no one can hurt you but yourself.

Always demand the union label!

EDITORIAL

THERE is now a splendid opportunity for exercising your qualities as an organizer. Now, when some of the weak brothers are slipping, say the word that will brace them up. Now, when they are willing to say, "What good is the union?" those birds that came in since or during the war; those weak, milk-and-water union boys who came in when conditions were made for them, who laid in the feather bed that you and I made after years of struggling and fighting. You just stand up and refuse to allow them to besmirch the name of that union that we fought hard to build up; that we spent nights and days working under cover and in danger, sometimes, trying to obtain the right to organize. Don't let them desecrate our life's work; that for which we suffered and bled, and for which many went to prison. Don't, for God's sake, let those who but lately flew in lie about your union and mine, because we are, perhaps, now in some places being forced to take a slight step backward, although we went forward for years shortening hours of labor and raising our wages. In short, doing work and getting results that never before were accomplished by any institution or organization. The principles for which we were established still obtain and when this depression passes over, you and I will do as we did before—go out and get better and still better conditions and we will be as loyal to our union (that union which we love) in these dark days as we were when things were coming easy. No matter what the newly-weds say, we are union men as ready to fight and defend our union as we were in the days of old.

THE Labor Movement has about reached the most extreme point of the bitter opposition hurled against it for the past year. The opposition has reached the very end of the rope of trickery and deceit which it has been putting into practice since the ending of the European war. It would be foolish to say that the Labor Movement has not been weakened or that we have not felt the fight. We certainly felt it and we lost some members, but the Labor Movement has survived and will, undoubtedly, as time goes on, regain the lost members, or at least a good many of them.

When you take into consideration that the whole world had or has gone through a period of reorganization; that every country and every industry has had to try to readjust itself; has had to chop out the rotten branches; has had to save itself from utter destruction financially, well, is it any wonder that the Labor Movement has had to experience something of a crisis, especially, when on top of all of this world industrial disturbance, we have an element in our country composed of cheap politicians, professional shyster lawyers, some fanatical preachers and pussyfooters, and un-American employers that are always looking and longing for a chance to take a crack or a rap at Labor? Considering the whole situation, I believe Labor has been very fortunate to come out as well as it has. Of course, we lost a little of our wages, here and there, but, after all, we gained big advances during the war, living costs are coming down a little, business in general has been losing, but we expect to come back strong some day. So, why worry? Let us be up and doing, on the job all the time to build up our union, for where would we land

without our union? Therefore, stick harder than ever to your union; fight to build it up. It is our only salvation. It has made us free men. It has given us the right to assert ourselves. The Declaration of Independence gave us the right to call ourselves free men, but the trade union movement made us free men in reality. What good would it be for us to have so-called political and religious freedom if we had, as we did have, until the Labor Movement came into existence, industrial slavery? What does it matter to a man with a family what kind of government he lives under if he is living in starvation and poverty? It would not help us very much to have gotten rid of the English Bourbons and then have to live in industrial slavery under the unjust, labor-hating employers in this so-called free country of ours, and this is what we would have to do were it not for our trade unions. So, do your share—a real man's share—to help to preserve the union that has given you and me that real freedom that we are justly entitled to. Remember, we are not only freeing ourselves, but we are freeing our children and our children's children, and those children will carry on the work that we have only begun. They will yet, through their unions, the unions that we are fighting for, man the legislative halls of our country in reality, representing the masses of the workers, because you and I today are fighting and will continue to fight for the union that has done so much for us.

REAL doctors are getting away from prescribing very much medicine. They know that medicine is poison. It is true that poison is necessary sometimes in order to kill the poison in the system, but as a rule nowadays, doctors try to discover the cause of the poison in the system and eliminate the cause. It may be caused by overeating, eating the wrong kind of food, or unbalanced food, that is, too much of the same kind of food. Again, a great many ailments or diseases are caused from the teeth or tonsils, especially rheumatism. You may have teeth that cause you no pain, but underneath the teeth may be pus bags. You may never have a sore throat, but you may have bad tonsils, and under the teeth or tonsils may be found active agencies that are continually throwing off poisons which sometimes destroy the whole system, or at least, cause a lot of suffering and especially rheumatism. Under the circumstances, the best thing to do is to go to a practical physician for a thorough examination at least once a year. If you cannot afford to go to a physician, go to some hospital and be examined. At any rate, look after yourself in time. Don't wait until it is too late, because then all the doctors in the world can do you no good.

WHO GETS THE MONEY?

"We note in the daily press that several coal owners in the Birmingham district are offering coal at the modest sum of about \$2.25 per ton f. o. b. at the mines," says the Birmingham Labor Advocate.

"We also note that the domestic coal is held in the yards at Birmingham for sale to the consumer at the also modest price of \$8.75 per ton.

"Who gets the difference? The retail man says he doesn't, and the coal owner says he doesn't, and we know that the miner doesn't. So, who gets it?"

The trade union is the prime conservator of individual liberty, as distinguished from the political club, the conservator of public liberty.

CORRESPONDENCE



PANAMA, C. Z.

Mr. D. J. Tobin, Indianapolis, Ind.:

Dear Sir and Brother—The Associated Press has given wide publicity to the statements of the new Secretary of War, Mr. Weeks, which would indicate that life in the Panama Canal Zone is one continual round of pleasure, and he intends to make drastic changes just as soon as he, either in person or by committee, can visit the Isthmus.

This is written you by the Publicity Committee of the Panama Metal Trades Council, with the request that you publish for the purpose of placing the true facts in the case before all workingmen in the United States, in so far as we are able to reach them.

The conditions down here have never been anything more than just about passable, as is proved by the annual labor turnover of 35 per cent. for employes in mechanical trades and 40 per cent. for the clerical force, and if the Secretary of War succeeds in carrying out his plans the conditions here will be utterly impossible, and anyone accepting employment may find himself a couple of thousand miles from home and expected to go to work under unfair conditions.

Recently the force has been reduced approximately 30 per cent. and men with families have been compelled to remain idle on the Isthmus, with no prospect of other work to do, anywhere from one to four weeks before transportation to the United States was available, and if the present marine strike continues over any considerable period men laid off will be compelled to remain here indefinitely,

with no means of earning a dollar to help sustain themselves.

We, the Publicity Committee of the Panama Metal Trades Council, therefore consider it our duty to have the entire working public of the United States notified that those accepting employment in any occupation with the Panama Canal, until such time as conditions are once more settled, will be doing so at very great risk of placing themselves and their families in a very precarious situation, and also jeopardizing our chances of maintaining present conditions.

Faternally,

W. C. HUSHING,
H. W. OTIS,
J. WYNNE,
Publicity Committee.

TRUTH OOZES OUT

Plain talk by hard-headed financial writers is making it increasingly harder to "put over" the claim that labor is responsible for present industrial conditions. The financial writer in a Washington paper says:

"Everyone seems to realize nowadays that the inflation of the war days, attendant on the purchase of \$10,000,000,000 of our goods, with a like amount of money loaned by our Government to our allies, was a bit of unprecedented foolishness from which it will take years to recover."

Our seeming prosperity, says the writer, made profiteers and spend-thrifts, and turned some managers of great corporations from the straight and narrow path out into broad fields of speculation and induced them to pay great stock dividends, which have since greatly strained their companies.

MISCELLANY



QUESTIONABLE BENEFITS OF EMPLOYES' CLUBS

Considerable activity is being displayed by the employers, particularly in the department stores, in establishing what are known as employees' clubs or store organizations in the hope that this plan will win the confidence of the employees and at the same time discourage any move toward trade union organization.

This attempt is bound to fail of achievement. They may be able to force the store organizations or clubs on the salespeople, as we know of many instances where it has been done, but this has not generated a feeling of good fellowship or increased efficiency as was anticipated.

Not until the employers realize that their employees are human beings, with red blood in their veins, with the same hopes and ambitions and desires as other intelligent individuals, and govern their relations with those employees accordingly, will they succeed in reducing the turnover in employment and in promoting the success of their institutions in the fullest sense of the word.

We are taught to believe that we are free-born American citizens, we are taught to believe that we have the right to exercise our own judgment in seeking our affiliations, whether industrial, political or religious. These are the fundamental principles underlying the structure of our government according to us these privileges under democracy, and we shall at all times strive to maintain those rights.

The wage-earners are perfectly willing to give to their employers

100 per cent. efficiency, but they do claim that they have an equal right to demand 100 per cent. consideration at their hands. The wage-earners are not blind to the real motives that lie behind the employers' organizations for employees. They are not designed to afford any protection of wages or conditions of employment, nor to remedy any evils, but merely to block trade union activities and to pacify any spirit of unrest and dissatisfaction with apparent interest in the welfare of the employee, while in reality the protection afforded by the store organizations is all on the side of the employers.

Such organizations presumably grant to the employees full representation, but they are controlled by department managers or by individuals acting as spies for the company, "snitches" being the unenviable title by which they are known.

The need for organization has been admitted by the very attempt of the employers to band the wage-earners together in a manner, however, which will assure to themselves absolute control of all deliberations and activities. The plan is doomed to failure, for the employees will not be content with any restraint of their personal liberties, the right to spend their money as they see fit without coercion, the right to associate with whom they choose. In return the employers have every right to demand an honest day's work for an honest day's pay, this they are entitled to expect, but their relation as employers does not give them the authority to dictate to those in their employ what their affiliations shall or shall not be.

Company unions, employees' clubs, store organizations and all movements of similar character fall far short of their purpose. Given the right to exercise the privileges that are already theirs through citizenship, removal of threats and intimidation will clear the atmosphere and the employers will then find that their employees are human like themselves, anxious to succeed, eager to advance and willing to render faithful service when proper recognition is given to them.—Retail Clerks.

A DUTY WE OWE

When a local union has signed up with an employer, the union has made an honorable sale of the labor power of its members under the most favorable of possible conditions and each engineer is a recipient in full of the benefits of the agreement. They have sold their labor at a good price to a fair employer. It is now up to this employer to market the product of the labor of these union workers so as to be able to keep his end of the contract.

A square deal for this kind of employer requires essentially that the union and its members shall turn over to him such skill, efficiency and full measure of hours and degrees of workmanship that will back him up in his effort to market the product of their labor in competition with all other kinds of labor employers. To not do so is to fail to keep the contract, and invites disaster.

When a union worker receives all that he has demanded as the price of his skill and ability to perform the service he is selling, he should give that skill and service in full, complete and without reservation of any kind to the employer he has contracted with through the medium of his local union. This is a cardinal principle of all honorable relations between men and strict adherence to it pro-

motes mutual self-respect and satisfaction. No fair employer can long guarantee the sale of union labor's product if that labor is deficient in skill, and members of a contracting union who contribute to such deficiencies are enemies of the union, of fair conditions of employment and traitors to the cause they glibly espouse.

To preserve themselves and to continue to advance along the glorious path so far trod, local unions must—and they do—require of benefited members just as loyal a fulfillment of labor's end of a contract with a fair employer as is expected and insisted on from the employer. — Shoe Workers' Journal.

GIVE US REAL POSTAL SAVINGS BANKS

It is to be hoped that Postmaster-General Hays will be supported by Congress in his effort to enlarge the activities of the postal savings bank system. He suggests that the rate of interest be increased and that restrictions concerning the deposit and withdrawal of funds shall be greatly modified.

The passage of the original postal savings bank bill was held as a great triumph for the plain people. The subject had been agitated for almost a quarter of a century. During all that time the banking interests succeeded in blocking legislation, although the politicians were loud in their professions of support.

When the pressure of public opinion became so great that it could no longer be resisted the representatives of the bankers inserted a few well-placed "jokers" in the bill and permitted it to go through. The people soon discovered that it was extremely difficult to get their money into the Government banks and even more difficult to get it out. On top of that Uncle Sam refused to pay more than 2

per cent. on deposits, although savings banks were paying 3, 4 and 5 per cent. and the Government itself was paying between 5 and 6 per cent. on its bonds.

Attempts to amend the law have been successfully opposed by the bankers. Mr. Hays' proposal will meet the same opposition. He may be able to overcome it, but in order to accomplish that result he must be prepared to fight.—Labor.

REFUSE WAGE CUT

Chicago. — Federal Judge Alschuler, arbitrator in the meat-packing industry, has refused the packers' demands for a horizontal wage cut of 5 cents an hour. Approximately 100,000 workers are affected by the decision. The arbitrator held that reductions in the cost of living are not as pronounced as employers claim, and in some instances there has been no decline. Taxes, he said, are constantly mounting, street car fares remain 60 per cent. above pre-war prices, while gas, electricity and fuel continue at high rates.

"Newspapers, a most general necessity, remain at the highest point, from 100 to 200 per cent. above 1914 prices," he said. Among other costs which have not started to decline, the arbitrator named rents, telephone and telegraph service, freight and passenger rates, while such essential foods as milk, bread and bakery products, fruit and meats show only slight decreases.—News Letter.

EMPLOYERS MAKE MISTAKE

Unless something transpires which will check the onward career of commercial tyranny, now sweeping through the civilized world, there is grave danger that a practical illustration will be given to the old saying that "those whom the gods would destroy they first make mad."

Not satiated with enormous

wealth gleaned from war conditions, those who think only in profits are gnawing at the foundations of our social structure. They are mere automatons in the progress of a system which is destroying the race. Carried on by the force of a relentless machine, drunk with temporary power, and filled with arrogance, the captains of industry are bringing destruction to all the organizations of the masses. In addition to the labor movement, fraternal and beneficial associations are feeling the weight of present conditions, neither are the churches immune from detrimental effect. However, there is consolation in the thought that even the organized employers can make mistakes. They have determined upon decimation of the American Federation of Labor, and in that effort their interest will be poorly conserved.

As at present constituted, the American Federation of Labor is anything but a menace to the employing interests; in many instances it operates to their advantage. The system of craft organization in its present form precludes solidarity of the workers. Where the leaders of the several unions are not imbued with the natural ambition to climb, or are unaffected with political aspirations, the courts are effective in nullifying the obsolete weapons of strike or boycott. Trade jealousies and jurisdictional disputes split the contenders into hostile camps to such extent that the common enemy is frequently lost to sight. The policy of entering, as crafts, into agreements — which are regulated by employers to terminate at different times, according to their requirements — has become one of the handiest tools for subjection of the workers; due to the fact that unionists are compelled to work against each other's interests in organized form.

The spirit of unionism is too

strong to utterly destroy the labor movement in America, and success of employers to disrupt the American Federation of Labor would only result in a more progressive and effective system of organization.—Seamen's Journal.

WORTH \$100,000 A MINUTE TO U. S. TO JAIL THIEVES

"It would be worth \$100,000 a minute to the Government and the public to have profiteering cutthroats in jail," declares Col. William Hayward, United States District Attorney in New York City.

He made this statement in the course of a vitriolic attack on vendors of ice cream soda who are not returning taxes to the Government. In New York alone, he says, \$4,500,000 is being stolen every month. Col. Hayward is informed that a similar condition prevails throughout the country.

"You wouldn't think," he said, "that the pennies stolen from you by soda-fountain owners would amount to such a sum until you learn how they work it. I consider a man the lowest type of thief when he takes a two-cent tax from shop girls on a fifteen-cent soda and then pockets the money. These crooks keep double books—one to show the Government and the other to record their profits."

EXPLORERS USE NEW FOOD

If Donald B. MacMillan and his six venturesome companions who sailed from Wiscasset, Maine, last week succeed in reaching Baffin Land, in the frozen North, they probably will celebrate with a banquet on shipboard with such delicacies as "fresh" raspberries, spinach and green corn.

They have taken along a quantity of foodstuffs prepared by a new process of dehydration which, its sponsors claim, leaves the dried product capable of restoration to its original bulk, color and taste by

soaking in water. The process is said to differ from ordinary drying methods in that the cell walls are not broken down during preparation.

In addition to fruits and vegetables, the MacMillan party's dehydrated food supply included roast beef hash, reduced to bits; unrecognizable fish, also capable of being made "fresh," and a few bales of grass for the party's dogs and catnip for the ship's cat.

LABOR, SINGLE-HANDED, RESISTS COOLIE INVASION

While alleged friends and frank opponents of organized labor bemoan that "trade unionists are only interested in hours and wages," these workers struggle on for American ideals, with their critics silent in times of great test.

Labor's present fight against the importation of Chinese coolies to Hawaii, thereby destroying the principle of Chinese exclusion, interests no critic of organized workers.

Under the banner of the A. F. of L., organized labor in the United States and Hawaii are alone fighting this proposal. Hawaiian trade unionists have commissioned two of their representatives to come to Washington, a distance of 10,000 miles, to expose the claims of sugar planters and their mercenaries. These unionists are now in the nation's capital, working under the direction of President Gompers.

Every affiliate of the A. F. of L., especially in the Pacific and intermountain states, has been warned of this menace, and protests are pouring into the halls of congress.

If the public were acquainted with this proposal, what it means to our country, and the single-handed fight labor is making, the objectors would storm the capitol. But the resolution is given the "silent treatment" by forces that hope they may win by stealth and inten-

sify the Oriental question, now so acute in the far west.

The proposal is the most brazen yet suggested by reaction, drunk with war profits and flushed with a political victory. It shows to what lengths plutocracy would go but for an alert and aggressive trade union movement.

The oozy, sentimental, so-called "liberal," the muddled doctrinaire, the popularizer with his rose-water theories, the writer of giddy labor programs, the denunciator of trade unionism—all are silent as big business attempts to insert in the Chinese exclusion act the thin edge of a wedge that would permit hordes of coolies to sweep, like locusts, across the Pacific and intermountain states.

Every right-thinking citizen should join with labor in this fight. Every senator and congressman should hear from "back home" in language that is easily understood.

Let the country accept this challenge to chinafy America.

Don't trust reaction, its newspapers or political agents who would sneak this legislation through congress under the plea that there is a "labor scarcity" in Hawaii.

Forty years ago labor insisted: "The Chinese must go."

Today let Washington hear the country-wide roar: "The Chinese must not come."—News Letter.

WANT PROFITEERS NAMED

"Pitiless publicity" for war profiteers as well as slackers is provided in a resolution introduced by Congressman Beck of Wisconsin. His measure calls on the Secretary of the Treasury to make public the names of all individuals or corporations who made a profit of more than 25 per cent. during the war. The congressman charges that profiteers are holding back more than \$1,000,000,000 from the Federal Government in taxes.

KEEP EYES SHUT

Courts habitually fail to see the big question involved in the labor boycott—the protection of men and their families in their standard of living—and can see only the rights of property, shutting their eyes to the bigger question of the rights of man.

Some men will not join a union because they are afraid they will get "in bad" with the employer and lose what they term "their" jobs. The jobs are not "theirs"; the employer controls the job and can discharge them at any time he sees fit. If properly organized, the workers have a better chance to hold their jobs than when they are unorganized. That does not mean that the union will support a man who lays down on the job. The man who does that is just as unfair to the men he works with as he is to the employer, because he places an added burden on his fellow-workmen and expects as much pay as the rest. But proper organization does mean that men cannot be discharged without cause; it means that men cannot be discharged because some foreman does not like the way they part their hair or the kind of clothes they wear. Proper organization means that machinery will be provided for a fair and equitable adjustment of situations that if neglected soon grow into grievances of large proportions and which eventually result in walkouts, time loss for the workers, loss to all concerned financially, and, worst of all, a condition in industry that is filled with distrust and oftentimes actual hatred. Organize and protect industrial conditions. In doing so, you will protect yourself and those who look to you for support.

No people can prosper as a nation when the producers are paid less than living wages.

Be a real man with the courage to defend your opinions even if you displease some narrow-minded persons who think themselves liberal in thought, but never allow another the right to disagree with them.

The test of a real friend is to find that friend defending the one who is not present; the one who is not afraid to say the word of truth against the malicious and jealous attacks of the cowardly menials who delight in destroying a man's reputation by cruel, barefaced lying when that man is not present.

A real gentleman is not always the man of wealth and education. Sometimes the gentle-minded, unassuming workman who helps lift the load of the weak or persons in distress, who does not look for applause but passes on, perhaps to say a word of kindness to a saddened heart or tell a fairy story to a little child, is the man that both God and man recognizes as the human being worth while, who deserves the title of gentleman.

To get to the top, you must win on the level. Getting there any other way means false success and in the end brings disgrace as well as carrying around a guilty conscience.

Official Magazine
of the
**International Brotherhood
of Teamsters, Chauffeurs
Stablemen and Helpers
of America**

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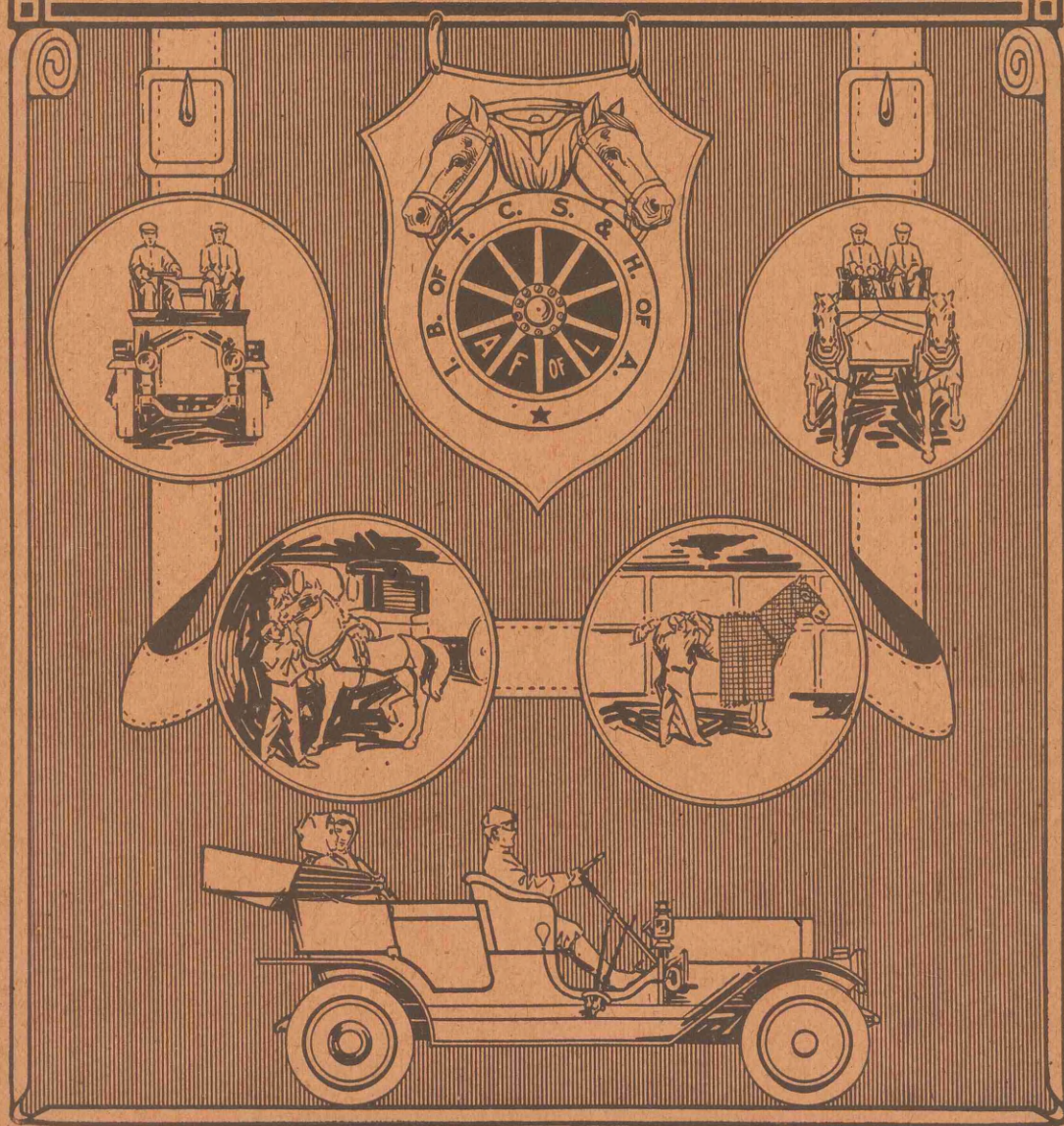
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222 East Michigan Street

Indianapolis, Indiana

OCTOBER, 1921

OFFICIAL MAGAZINE OF INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD TEAMSTERS • CHAUFFEURS STABLEMEN AND HELPERS OF AMERICA



The masses of toilers in cities and towns throughout the country marching proudly in parades, attending mass-meetings and gatherings of Labor's forces on Labor Day did not help to encourage those preaching the doctrine of the "Open Shop," that Labor is on the wane, that the organized movement of the workers is going to pieces. On the contrary, in every city, town and hamlet within our nation Organized Labor asserted itself and proved that it intended going onward marching to the front, holding on to its organization until the condition of the workers is relieved and until the masses are given that freedom and encouragement, both from a legal standpoint and an economic standpoint, to which they are justly entitled.

Honor may be found in a man who deliberately steals, but a man who wilfully and knowingly lies about an institution or an individual representing an institution or organization, is without honor. There is an old saying that you can protect yourself against a thief, but it is impossible to protect yourself against a liar.

The indictment for conspiracy of some of the officials of the Milk Wagon Drivers' Union in Chicago amounts to nothing. You can take it from the writer that it is some of the propaganda of the enemies of Labor that will peter out and result only in strengthening the members of the milk wagon drivers. There is no more honest set of officers, no more faithful workers, nor better union men in this or any other country than the men who conduct the affairs of Local No. 753, Milk Wagon Drivers of Chicago. The writer would not make this statement if it were not so, and he thoroughly understands the importance of his statement. No one connected with that institution will be found guilty of doing anything dishonorable or disgraceful. The courts now have the habit of calling anything that union officials may do in the interest of their union a conspiracy. Sometimes indictments of union officials are obtained, so that the eyes of the public may be taken off the guilty conspirators controlling large corporations.

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THE CHURCH AND THE INDUSTRIAL CONFLICT



EO XIII in 1891

penned the following almost prophetic words: "That the spirit of revolutionary change which has long been disturbing

the nations of the world should have passed beyond the sphere of politics and made its influence felt in the cognate sphere of practical economics, is not surprising."

The elements of the conflict now raging are unmistakable, in the vast expansion of industrial pursuits and the marvelous discoveries of science, in the changed relations between masters and workmen, in the enormous fortunes of some few individuals and the utter poverty of the masses, in the increased self-reliance and closer combination of the working classes, as also, finally, in the prevailing moral degeneracy.

The momentous gravity of the state of things now obtaining fills every mind with painful apprehension; actually there is no question that has taken a deeper hold on the public mind.

And the awful conflict through which the world has just passed has only sharpened the issues and intensified the conflict between master and man in the great world of industry; nor do the happenings in Russia, in Germany only yesterday, in France, yea, and in Eng-

land escape the wise and the prudent men in this land of mightiest opportunities and mightiest promise which earth knows today. In these momentous issues, which seemingly cloud all others, what direction are the leaders in the Church able to give?

"The industrial question," to quote again the great Leo, "in the opinion of some is merely an economic question, whereas in point of fact it is, first of all, a moral and religious matter, and for that reason its settlement is to be sought mainly in the moral law and in the pronouncement of religion.

And what could be more true? It is the cry of men's souls for right; it is the plea of men for justice, and really both master and man readily agree that they are striving only for justice, even though they agree not where justice lies.

In the seeking after justice we must never forget that in the present economy of our civilization, our lives and our needs are so bound up with the industrial order that the mighty operations of industry must go on continuously, else the whole body politic must suffer. It is, therefore, pregnant to remark that in seeking adjustment neither the employers nor their workmen have been sufficiently mindful of the rights of the people as a whole, nay, more, that the people as a whole have prior claim; of a consequence the first step in our adjustment is to insist that individual claims, conflicting with the rights of the community, shall not prevail.

There was a time when men questioned the rights of the laboring man to establish organizations for the furthering of his interests. That time has happily passed and the only question which now disturbs the minds of men is the question concerning the purpose of such organizations.

It may not be for purposes contrary to law and order. The aim must always be the safeguarding

of the workman's interests according to the dictates of God's law and the rightfully established law of the realm. If the right to form a united body seems clear to all thinking men, then there follows the equal right to bargain collectively, for the union itself could have no power to aid the struggling workmen unless as a whole their rightful claims could be placed before those who use their labor.

There was also dispute in times past concerning a rightful wage, and the old principle of supply and demand was largely the principle for adjusting this delicate matter. Happily, wise men today agree that the employe is entitled to a living wage, which includes not only the right to marry and the blessing of children, but also the decent maintenance of the home with a reasonable provision for future needs, such as sickness, relaxation and old age.

But the right to organize and the right to decent maintenance bring with them the corresponding obligations. Men often forget that when they bind themselves in union for mutual protection they are obligated, in every way in their power, to help the organization to which they have sworn fealty, and the great weakness in modern labor circles has been the neglect of the men themselves in looking after their own interests in the gathering, weekly or monthly, of the body to which they belong. The selfishness that seeks comfort, keeps them far from the disputes of the organization and leaves the adjustment of affairs to those who, because of ambition or even of lower motives, seek ascendancy in the meetings of the crowd.

The right to decent, honorable compensation brings with it the corresponding obligation of rendering faithful service to the man who employs the skill or the art of the workman. The Church has always insisted that this obligation of

rendering full service is an obligation that binds man under pain of sin; but it is only where the moral life of the people is in flower that we can hope that men, in this matter, will see their duty aright, and it is because our moral life has become so relax, our conscience so irresponsible, that men fail to render due service to those who hire their skill. Finally, it were needless, I hope, to add that men are bound also in conscience to live up to agreements made and ratified on behalf of the body to which they belong.

The employer, who has certain inalienable rights, also has certain obligations. He must recognize in his workman not only the dignity of his labor, but also the precious dignity of his manhood. He cannot deny the worker's right to better his condition by means of organization, by means of bargaining through representatives that express the workmen's will. He must give proper compensation for the labor, nor can he refuse to add the little which must provide for the proverbial rainy day, and with these solemn obligations there goes always the right to honorable, conscientious service. Leo XIII of blessed memory also favored associations and organizations which would draw both master and man more closely together. If thirty years ago this were part of wisdom, it seems in our day even more wise.

In times past unions of capital as well as unions of labor have been essentially militant aggregations, and the Bishops of the United States, in their joint pastoral, seemed to think that the times are ripe when a militant organization should be supplemented by associations or conferences, composed jointly of employers and employes, which will place emphasis upon the common interests rather than the diverse aims of the two parties,

which will place emphasis upon co-operation rather than conflict.

Assuredly through such an arrangement benefit will accrue to all. The worker would participate in those matters of industrial management which directly concern him and about which he has helpful knowledge. He would acquire an increased sense of personal responsibility and of personal dignity, he would take greater interest in his work, and he would become more effective and more content. The employer, on his side, would have the benefit of willing co-operation, and there would result a harmony of relation which must always work for good.

The public, too, would share in the advantage of a larger and a steadier production. Industry would be carried on as a great co-operative enterprise for the common weal, and not as a contest between two parties for the production of a restricted output.

From all this, it is clear there can be little hope of permanent industrial peace, until men return to the practice of that morality which religion always inculcates, for unless men recognize the dignity of their fellow men, unless men believe that they must render account of their lives and actions unto a just God, unless men recognize the dignity even of lowly labor, unless men feel that bond that binds them into common brotherhood, unless men perform their task in life because it is a conscientious obligation, unless men are willing to acknowledge the fundamental selfishness of nature, and seek in a brotherly way the best adjustment, I fear that with all our legislation we shall cry "Peace" where there is no peace.

In speaking of the power of religion to help in the solution of industrial difficulties, one goes back, instinctively, to the Guilds of the Middle Ages, which, under the protection of religion, obtained for the

workman his just demands, and gave unto labor a dignity which it has not since obtained.

The craftsman of the Middle Ages, protected by his mighty organization, felt a security that workmen of today can hardly feel. Intent upon the perfection of his task he experienced a joy in his work almost unknown in our times. This is partly due, of course, to the introduction of machinery, which tends to destroy the creative instinct in man, but the medieval condition, which, under religion's protecting aegis, made man recognize his high place and his high dignity, made him contented when he had sufficient for the day's needs, made him know the joy of a good conscience, bade him hope for a better life beyond this world of toil. This medieval condition, containing in itself the secret of joy and jubilation, found the way to true peace.

Every man in the community must put his hand to the work without delay, lest the evil get beyond remedy.

The masters of our destiny in the State must see that right laws are enacted, and that just judges give unto the poor just judgments. The captains of industry must reflect seriously upon the inborn dignity of the man who toils in these busy marts, and must see in the workman a brother, a helper. He must recognize the laborer's right, and, above all things, give him that portion of the return which will enable the toiler to live honorably and decently.

The leaders in the workmen's organizations must be men of high knowledge, men of highest honor and probity, men who give themselves unselfishly to a cause which today has become majestic in its power for good, and the fine democracy of the labor union must tolerate no man whose moral fitness can be questioned.—Rev. Edward J. Hanna, D. D., Archbishop of San Francisco.

STATEMENT TO OUR GENERAL MEMBERSHIP

In justice to our membership, it is only fair that I should make some statement relative to the newspaper reports appearing throughout the country dealing with my resignation as Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor. I had decided not to say one word on this subject, because it is not in line with the policy of trade unionists to speak about the inside affairs of the Executive Council. How the press became informed as to what transpired is something that I cannot account for. No word or statement of mine, in any way, gave any information of anything happening in the Executive Council meeting. It was the private business of the council, and to all reporters I refused to say one word. However, inasmuch as the press has given some space to this matter, our membership, whom I serve first and to whom I owe my first thought and consideration, are entitled to some word of explanation. The work within our own organization has grown to such an extent that it is almost impossible for me to carry on the work devolving upon me as Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor and act as a member of the Executive Council. The condition within every labor organization, for the executive officers this year, is almost beyond the possibility of human endurance. As you very well know, our organization within the last fifteen years has trebled its membership and this year, with our membership holding up around 90,000, we have been attacked in every section of the country with serious wage controversies. It has necessitated the work of every officer and a great deal of the work has devolved upon the shoulders of the General President. In addition to that I am editor of our official Journal and to take care

of the work of the Executive Council is a little more than I felt I could handle at the present time. You might ask, "Why did I not resign at the last convention?" My reason for not resigning was first, because there was a serious battle on for control of the Federation and were I to refuse to be a candidate it would not help matters. I was desirous of helping in that controversy. I was opposed to the candidacy of Mr. Lewis of the Miners against Mr. Gompers for reasons best known to myself, reasons which I cannot make public at this time. I did not hesitate to express myself to the leaders of the opposition on the subject. No man in Labor or in Business can ever say that my position is not always clear. In addition to that situation, I was hoping that things in the Labor Movement would clear up and that we would perhaps be able by the middle of August to see our way clear and the wage controversies and other disturbances within the organization would have passed over. Instead of the situation within our organization clearing up, we are confronted, as is every other organization of Labor, with a more disturbed condition. This was one of the reasons, and, perhaps, the main reason for my resigning. In addition to this there were several serious misunderstandings that existed between the executive officers of the Federation and myself which I cannot possibly, in justice to the Labor Movement, make mention of in the columns of our Journal. I am now, and have always been of the opinion, that we must fight our enemies and depend upon the strength of our trade unions to win our battles rather than surrender our independence and dignity to those who openly profess to despise us. The Labor Movement throughout the country, no matter how much we attempt to deny it, is in a very serious condition. Every organization of labor

is threatened with conditions that may have a tendency to destroy its usefulness for many years, but, Capital and Business is also threatened with the same condition. Our movement needs the clean, courageous thought and action of the most able men within its membership—worn-out policies of soft-soaping will get us nothing. The rank and file of the men of Labor must believe and support the Executive Council, which is supposed to speak for the American Federation of Labor, if that Executive Council is to amount to anything, and no one or two men on that council is justified in speaking for the masses of trade unionists of our country. The American Federation of Labor itself has no power to do anything. It cannot even compel an organization to remain in affiliation, nor can it very seriously injure an organization not in affiliation. Therefore, its success depends entirely upon the executive officers having the confidence and good will of the affiliated International and National Unions. The good will of organizations that are not made up of labor men, or the good will of politicians that have been elected by Capital amounts to very little. The Labor Movement in this or any other country must depend upon its own fighting qualifications to maintain for its membership the conditions to which they are justly entitled. As I have already stated, I cannot, and would not if I could, publish the misunderstandings arising between myself and certain members of the Executive Council. I want our membership to know that whatever I do will be as I see it, in my opinion, in the interest of the Labor Movement of our country. The status of my resignation at the present time is as follows: The Executive Council, at its meeting in Atlantic City, N. J., refused to accept my resignation and laid it

(Continued on page 16.)

EDITORIAL

(By Daniel J. Tobin)

SOME time ago the Building Trades Council of San Francisco voted to strike because the employers and membership of the Council disagreed as to the interpretation of the power of an Arbitration Board. It was rather a peculiar situation. Some time before a board was agreed to and appointed by capital, labor and the public, which was to settle any differences arising as to wages, etc.; that no strike was to take place, but that all differences arising should be referred to the Arbitration Board. Archbishop Hanna of San Francisco was one of the men selected by labor as their representative. At the beginning of the year the Building Trades, with which some of our local unions were directly affiliated, submitted a proposition asking for an increase in wages. The wage that then obtained was \$1.00 per hour for building trades mechanics. The Arbitration Board took the entire matter under consideration and in due time the employers requested that a reduction in wages obtain in view of the fact that industry all over the country was at a standstill. The board decided that they could not grant an increase in wages and brought in a recommendation, or decision, reducing wages about 6 cents an hour. The Building Trades Council of San Francisco stated that the Arbitration Board had overstepped its authority and had no right to consider a reduction in wages, as the question before it was an increase in wages. The employers contended that if the board had the right to consider an increase in wages, as the whole subject before the board was the question of wages, that it was also empowered to consider the question of a reduction in wages. Anyway, the men were dissatisfied with the decision and went on strike against it. Several of our teamsters were involved. The strike was on for weeks and was going from bad to worse. Where our organizations had contracts the International insisted that the locals obey their contracts and instructed Vice-President Casey to see to it that all contracts be carried out. As time rolled on and the situation commenced to slip from the hands of those first in control, another element within the strike arose and demanded a general strike. This is the usual procedure. The Central Labor Council of San Francisco appointed a committee to investigate the whole situation, and this committee recommended against a general strike. Our representative received a wire from the International Headquarters that any union violating its agreement by going on strike, thereby breaking its contract and breaking all the laws of the International, that such a union should have its charter taken away from it immediately. Our orders were carried out to the letter by Organizer Casey, with the result that the general strike did not take place. It undoubtedly would have died out anyway, at this writing there is some confusion obtaining within the building trades and affiliated organizations in San Francisco, much to our sorrow, and much do we regret this condition, as this was one of the splendid organizations of its kind in this country and had maintained its solidarity through many a rough and stormy period, and it is indeed regrettable that because of some misunderstanding or misinterpretation that the condition above described should result. Our organizations faithfully and conscientiously obeyed our orders and have maintained their agreements and

their unions. We have done nothing in this instance except what we have always done—insisted on the strict observance of our agreements which we entered into with our employers. We have kept our word, even though such action has displeased some of the men in the labor movement who are not members of our organization. This policy we have insisted on carrying out since I became President fourteen years ago, and I am going to maintain this policy of right and justice and keeping the word and pledge of our organization as much as I possibly can while I remain President. I have been ably assisted by the rank and file of our membership and especially by our organizers and workers in the field.

An unfortunate condition arose within the Building Trades of Boston on the first day of last January. The Building Trades asked for an increase in wages from \$1.00 an hour to \$1.25. The employers offered them the same as last year—\$1.00 per hour—and stated that it was impossible for them to do any better; that there was a general demand being made for a revision downward of wages in every part of the country. The organizations in the building trades refused to accept this offer, went on strike and after six or seven months of strike, the unions, thoroughly demoralized, were forced to go back to work under open-shop conditions at 85 and 90 cents an hour. Perhaps the men handling those strikes in the several cities are right and know how to handle a strike much better than the writer—we are not inclined to censure them—but when circumstances confront us and we are forced because of conditions to accept a reduction in wages or go on strike, we usually try to find some way out and we maintain our unions. During the spring the coal teamsters of Boston Local No. 68 were confronted with a condition in which the employers insisted on a four-dollar-a-week reduction. This local is one of the oldest unions in the International, in fact, is older than the International itself, being organized under the Knights of Labor, and has never been involved in a strike. They are managed by conservative officers, who are usually successful in handling wage scales. The men rebelled against the four-dollar-a-week reduction and voted to strike. The General President was advised of the situation and instructed Organizer Gillespie to immediately take hold of the situation and render whatever assistance possible. The General President wrote him a letter of instructions and advice, understanding that the local was down over 50 per cent. in membership because the men were out of work or only working part time. It would have been madness for the coal teamsters to go on strike. The employers had nothing to do, as the weather was warm, and no one was buying coal, and the unemployment prevailing generally was something to be considered very seriously before advising a strike. The General President instructed Organizer Gillespie to enter into conference and endeavor to beat down the reduction as much as possible; in any event to offer arbitration of the question, rather than advise the men to go on strike. The organizer carried out the instructions, entered into a conference and was successful in getting a modification of the reduction offered and the men remained at work, accepting a two-dollar-a-week reduction. Organizer Gillespie went into the meeting of the local and with the assistance of two or three of the officers of the local advised and encouraged the men to accept, and although there was some opposition, the men did accept the proposition. Had conditions been different we might not have accepted the proposition, but at that particular time the coal business was

bad, and while some of the men did fight against accepting the proposition, we disagreed with them in their own interest, as we were trying to protect them, and it needed courage and fearlessness to do this, but it must be done when it is necessary to do it, otherwise unions will go on strike and ruin themselves and the work of a lifetime is liable to be destroyed by an ill-advised or ill-considered act. We believe in the rule of listening to the membership, and we know we are duty-bound to be governed by the rank and file, but if we are elected to office it must be because there is something in us. We are chosen to lead, and unless we have the courage to give our membership at the crucial moment the proper advice and the force to follow up that advice by action, then we are not worthy to be officers. If we pursue the course of least resistance and stand on the ground that we are liable to make enemies for ourselves, then we are not leaders, and in many instances where this policy has been pursued, it has resulted in the total demoralization of splendid organizations. We are passing through a period of reconstruction. There is a falling off in membership in nearly every union. This is not due to the open-shop drive, but in most instances is due to unemployment, so we must guard against adding any further increase to the army of unemployed, because with the long period of cold weather facing us more idleness will prevail than at the present time, and any man or number of men who will not strain every point to bring about an agreement, who are not willing to make some sacrifice, if necessary, to hold men at work, are not alive to the serious condition that confronts our country and our organization. Therefore, weigh carefully your action on questions that may arise so that you and your fellow workers may continue at work.

THE general membership of all organizations has fallen off considerably at this time; in fact, so much that we dislike to think of it. Our organization is standing up under the strain of unemployment much better than other organizations. It is true that our membership has fallen off considerably, but it is no great surprise, because when merchandise is not being sold it cannot be moved, consequently drivers and chauffeurs are out of work. For the month of August we received per capita tax on 85,000. A year ago we had 100,000 members. We are liable to go lower as the winter months roll on, but we also want to remember that a few years ago we had less than 30,000 members, and if we lived through those days and maintained a substantially solid organization, we know we can do it now. However, we feel that the situation will be much more desperate, with not much prospect for a betterment until perhaps about the month of May, 1922, when we will experience the first signs of returning business and prosperity. Keep up your courage. Do not be too confident or too dismayed. Things will come out all right in the end. We must maintain our unions. We must fight as hard as we can to hold the conditions we have, but when confronted with a situation that necessitates either going on strike or accepting some little reverse, weigh carefully the situation. Remember the International is standing behind you in every legal step that you take, but it is our duty, and I think you will agree with us, when we see you taking any steps that we believe are not for the best interest of the men, we must decide against you, even though it is hard to decide against our membership and our friends. We ask your co-operation at this time when almost every element of society is endeavoring to create dissension and discord within the ranks of Labor. All we ask you to do is to look over our record and you will find that we are always

on the fighting front guarding your interests. We cannot change over night the policy of our entire life, so you will find us working much harder than before that our unions will continue to prosper, even though adversity seems to surround us. Remember that the Organized Labor Movement is not the only institution that is fighting for its very existence at the present time. Business in all of its branches is suffering very severely. Thousands of business houses that have always been considered safe, sane, wealthy and independent are begging from month to month for loans so that they may meet their regularly established overhead expenses and hold their institutions intact. There is no class at this time in this country or any other part of the world that is not feeling the severe test to which every man and every institution is being put. We feel confident that we will be able to weather the storm that is now confronting us, and when we emerge from it triumphantly we may discover a year or two hence that this fire of reconstruction through which we have passed has been helpful to us. Let me close by asking you to have confidence in the future, in your union, to work harder than before, if possible, so that you may preserve your union. Have confidence in and be guided by your officers whom you have elected and help them in every way possible, if they are right; if they are wrong or lagging behind, get rid of them.

FROM latest reports we have obtained there are 5,500,000 men and women out of work who were working one year ago. If the truth were known there is a greater number unemployed and as we enter into the winter months the number will be still greater. It is a conservative estimate to say that there is liable to be 10,000,000 people out of work by the first of January. A conservative estimate would be that each individual out of work would have at least two others dependent upon him, which would make the total number of persons suffering from unemployment about 30,000,000. This is a serious situation; a condition that is dangerous, because, after all, starvation in a country teeming with plenty is a condition which is liable to bring about anarchy. You do not mean to say that if you have a family of four or five children that you are going to see them starve with plenty all around? Man is a human animal that will not see his children suffering and in want if it is possible for him to prevent it. The condition is so dangerous that, for the first time in over thirty years, the government called a conference on conditions of unemployment. The government finally admitted that there was a condition of unemployment, and when it admits anything it is usually serious. This winter there is liable to be more stealing, more burglaries and more holdup games than ever before. When men are out of work and hungry they feel that worse things than going to prison can happen to them, for in prison they can at least get something to eat. So, we are moving towards a period of crime, discontent and lawlessness. It should be prevented. This condition should not exist. There is just as much money in the world today as there was during the war. It is the jockeying and jollyng of the politicians in Washington, who have refused to enact any kind of conservative legislation, who have continually closed their eyes to a straightening up of the European situation, which is responsible, as we have said before, for the awful condition of unemployment that now confronts us. It is disgusting to hear senators and congressmen down in Washington making speeches as to the suffering of the people in South America and asking that aid be extended to the Chinese and Russians, when we have much hunger, privation and desti-

tution in our own country. How they are deceiving or attempting to deceive the great multitude that elected them to office. We are wondering how long the people will stand for this bulldozing. Instead of trying to find out what can be done or enacting some conservative legislation, they are spending their time trying to dig up something so they can find fault with the previous administration. The sooner this is stopped the better it will be for all concerned. It will be useless trying to reason with hungry men, women and children, and in a few months there will be hordes of men, women and children going hungry and homeless, and the men of labor, now so much despised by that gang down there in Washington, will not be able to hold the masses under control when that time comes.

CASES of where the minority was right are known to exist or have existed and minorities that are right may win eventually by holding on to their policies and principles and by continuing to advocate their doctrine they will, in time, be able to convince the majority as to the honesty of their position, but they cannot hope to win by cutting loose from everything and saying they are disgusted because things are not going their way. This course should only be considered when there is no possible hope for the future. In the pages of history we read of cases where some of the strongest and greatest men have been known to fight alone for their ideas and principles. The Labor Movement at the present time seems to be the football for every non-progressive human being in our country. The Labor Movement is at the mercy of our country today insofar as the great multitude of our country is concerned. No thought is given to the work we have done in the past, of the trials, of the struggles, of the dangers we have faced in trying to uplift humanity. Very little credit is given us by some of the men who have profited by the organization, by what we have done, but just as we read in history, the workers who have done the greatest good and some of the leaders of those great movements were totally misunderstood, many of them persecuted and imprisoned, but centuries afterwards, when history was written, they were understood and credit given them for the struggles they had to undergo. So it is with the Labor Movement—the only organization or movement in our country that sets aside all creeds, color, race, religion and prejudice and opens its arms to those who are depressed and is endeavoring to uplift the toilers who have been trampled on by those in power who control the wealth of the nation.

The report of the trustees for the six months ending August 31st, 1921, shows a balance in our treasury of \$659,371.11. This shows a gain in our funds, since our last convention one year ago, of about \$93,000. When you take into consideration the increased expense of the organization; the number of men that have been forced to fight to maintain their union, to whom we have had to pay strike benefits, and the dropping off in our membership as a result of unemployment, I think we have every reason to rejoice. By careful management of your funds in the International treasury, by the co-operation of our local unions, we have been able to bring about this splendid condition, placing us on a solid financial basis. Several of the large and successful organizations of labor, as a result of the fight being made upon them at the present time, have their treasury almost depleted. Continue your help, and support the International officers and you may rest assured when this great conflict which is now being waged against organized labor passes over, that your International will come out of the battle stronger financially than ever before.

CORRESPONDENCE



URBANA, ILL.

Mr. D. J. Tobin, Indianapolis, Ind.:

Dear Sir and Brother—No doubt you have been looking for a letter from me for some time, but I am pretty busy. I work every day and the business of the Local takes a good many of my evenings, so I do not have much time for writing or anything else.

We have, at the present time, a very good Local, considering the strenuous time all labor people are having to go through. I am trying my best to encourage every member to attend every meeting possible unless they are sick. We also have better order in the meetings than we used to have. When elected President, after being installed, I gave a short talk to the Local and told them what I expected of them and that we must have better order and less rowdiness, which, to my surprise, has had a wonderful effect.

I have very little trouble in keeping order and we are at present having fairly good attendance and very interesting meetings.

We have at the present an Executive Board that I believe is working in perfect harmony, which I think is one of the essentials of a good Local.

I am very much encouraged with Local 443 at the present time and believe we can grow to be a strong unit in this locality.

I will try and write you oftener and let you know how we are progressing. Will close for this time. With best wishes to you in your work, I am

Yours,

O. L. JONES,
President Local No. 443.

BLOOMINGTON, ILL.

Mr. D. J. Tobin, Indianapolis, Ind.:

Dear Sir and Brother—Local Union No. 333, like every other Local Union in the country whose members are alive to their interests, is holding its own, unfavorable conditions notwithstanding. After incapacitation by an accident and failing health, President Hendrix tendered his resignation. Bro. Earnest Lembke was elected at the last meeting to fill the unexpired term; at the same meeting Bro. E. L. Mootes was elected Vice-President, succeeding Bro. Sam. Hensen, who has taken up other work. The two officers-elect are both young men who have never before held elective offices in the local, but they are devoted union men and possess particular qualifications for efficient trade union officials. We predict for them a future of useful service to the principles for which our International Union stands.

An indication of a determination to "hold the fort" and push forward was the appointment at the last meeting of a committee of three which will make a report at the next meeting with recommendations of a plan by which attendance at weekly meetings of the local can be stimulated. The idea is to secure as near a one-hundred-percent attendance as is possible. The trade union movement must not only repel the present attack against it, but move forward with the banner of social justice; it is realized that attendance at union meetings is a very essential factor in this aim.

We participated this year in what is believed to be the most successful Labor Day celebration ever

staged in Bloomington. The entire affair was financed by the local unions, each organization making a contribution to help defray expenses. Our local union demonstrated that it is no "piker" by voting a sum equal to the highest contribution to the fund.

Clouds threatened in the morning, but later the sun made its appearance, and it turned out to be an ideal day for the celebration. The speakers' program was well filled. The afternoon speaking was by Wm. T. Wolcott, representing the Federated Railroad Crafts. John H. Walker, President of the Illinois State Federation of Labor, and Gifford Ernest, Secretary of the Farmer-Labor Party of Illinois. Alexander Howat, the fighting President of the United Mine Workers of Kansas, delivered a stirring address in the evening. An elaborate program of sports and other features of entertainment was enjoyed during the day; the evening was spent in dancing, and the huge crowd enjoyed itself until a late hour.

Bro. B. L. Robbins will represent Local 333 in the annual convention of the Illinois Federation of Labor, which convenes in Aurora, Ill., Oct. 17, 1921.

Our working agreements, entered into May 1st of this year, were, at the demand of the employers, signed for six months only and will expire on October 1st. We hope to be able to report at least a renewal of our present wage scale and working conditions.

Dances are being held in our hall semi-weekly, under the supervision of a committee of five, elected by the members. This feature is highly enjoyed by the members, besides, our organization realizes a neat sum in revenue from this source.

Seldom does Local 333 hold a weekly meeting without initiating at least one new member. Sum-

ming up the whole situation in general, Local Union No. 333 has every reason for felicitation as it looks ahead to a hopeful future.

MARTIN A. DILLMON,
Local No. 333

URGING JUSTICE FOR POOR, JUDGE CRITICISES COURTS

Warrensburg, Mo.—In a plan of revision of the constitution of Missouri submitted to the new constitution association, Judge Ewing Cockrell of the Seventeenth Missouri Judicial district takes the position that the courts are needlessly expensive and unbusinesslike. He declares that frequently decisions favor the party able to employ the best lawyer rather than to the party in the right and that the entire fabric of the judicial system is such that the poor are deprived of justice.

"We have the best courts and best judges for a few people," says Judge Cockrell. "But they are the people who have the most money and who are in the least need of justice. The poorest courts and judges are for the poor people who most need justice. I think most judges realize that the public has not full confidence in the courts, but most of them have been too busy running the antiquated machinery of our judicial system to consider the causes for this lack of confidence." He expressed the opinion that under present conditions in Missouri that appointment of judges would not meet with popular favor and that it would be necessary to provide in the new constitution for the election of judges by the people. — News Letter.

Ignorance is the hardest thing in the world to discover, especially your own; only the very wise can see it.

MISCELLANY



LANDIS BAWLS 'EM OUT

Federal Judge Landis, in his capacity of arbiter in the building trades controversy, arose in his wrath recently in the course of examining a group of employing contractors to give the bosses a good, old-fashioned Landis "bawling out."

"I'm just getting wise to you fellows," he said, as he leaned over the gunwale of his bench. "For several years you have been saturating the public with the propaganda that the union man has been the fellow who kicked over the traces, that he was the big objector to everything the employer wanted. The biggest objectors, I have found in this job of straightening out the building situation, are the contracting employers. If I were a union man, instead of backing you up, I'd be reaching for a club."

—Cause of Outbreak—

The outbreak arose in the course of arguments by employes and employers in the pipe-covering business. Judge Landis has been fighting for a clause in all-employer-employe agreements, which, by permitting an employer to work on the job with his men, would give the independent, little contractor or the union laborer who wants to be a contractor, a chance to compete with the big fellows.

Things were going along smoothly when the arbiter asked his usual question, this time of the head of an asbestos company, contracting in the pipe-covering business in Chicago.

"Do you object to the employer working with his men?" was the question.

—Men Would Have Advantage—

"Yes, we do," was the reply of the employer. "If we permit the employer to work that way, half of the workers would begin as contractors themselves, and they would have an advantage of us, at least to the extent of their own daily wage."

"Permit! Permit!" It was at this point that Judge Landis raised himself to the edge of the bench. "Do you dare to use that word 'permit' in this year of 1921 in these United States?" He paused for breath, but the old Landis glare was working hot.

"Why, any grand jury in the country would indict you in a minute on charges of criminal conspiracy for that utterance," he said. "I don't see why the union men stand for this."

"I'm not your lawyer," the judge concluded, as he sat down; "but I'm just giving you a little advice—just giving you a little advice!"—Chicago Daily News.

STEEL TRUST WAGES ARE AGAIN REDUCED

New York.—The millions of surplus the steel corporation piled up during the war does not deter this trust from leading in wage reductions.

Judge Gary announced a 10 per cent cut, effective August 29. This brings the rate of 46 cents an hour, prior to last May, down to 30 cents an hour, or \$2.40 a day for the eight-hour shift and \$3.60 for the 12-hour shift.

The latest cut is the third since May 16, when a 20 per cent reduction was made, with assurances to these unorganized workers that

business would respond and the mills would quickly resume operations. Sixty days later the time and one-half rate for overtime was eliminated.

When the first cut was made last May the rate was \$4.60 for a 10-hour day. This so-called "high" wage was not specified by propagandists, who led the public to believe that these workers were paid a princely wage, and tons of white paper was used in the campaign to impress upon the public what a paradise the steel mills are.

These workers are now confronted with the problem of meeting living expenses for their families on a wage of 30 cents an hour.

Judge Gary blames the price of steel for the wage cut. When his corporation was making the highest profits in its history it paid \$4.60 for a 10-hour day and at a time when the cost of living was 123 per cent over the pre-war times. This \$4.60 did not permit steel workers to meet increased living costs, but now, when steel prices go down, wages are reduced to nearly the pre-war scale with living costs still high. — News Letter.

LUMBER TRUST'S PROFIT 2,000 PER CENT. IN WAR

Seattle, Wash.—The company union of the lumber trust is a fine institution—for the lumber trust. But despite the wily tricks of the company union, and regardless of the efforts of the trust to drive out of the lumber industry every member of the International Union of Timber Workers, the spirit of those workers to stand by the principles of legitimate organized labor is stronger than ever. What the company union has done for the lumber workers is precisely what it has done for other workers wherever they have been coerced into it.

The purpose of the company

union in the lumber industry is to exploit the workers, not to benefit them. That's why the company gets back of its union; that's why the word "loyal" is chucked into the name. "Loyalty" is now used to cover every shady scheme devised by wily press agents. The workers, however, are not fooled by the use of words. Deeds count with them. The "loyalty" of the lumber trust to the government during the war is well illustrated by a statement of its profits made by an authority on the question.

"Spruce," says this authority, which sold before the war at from \$10 to \$15 per M, was sold to the Government for the fabulous price of from \$200 to \$250 per M, a 'loyal' profit of 2000 per cent. All grades of lumber were likewise placed in the 'loyal' class of profits, and these great profits are now being used to crush the workers in the industry through the 'loyal' company union and to restrain trade to the further advantage of the operators 'loyal' to their own interests.

"These lumbermen, who control 80 per cent. of the standing timber in the United States, have used this control to manipulate the log market, setting a fabulous price on logs, which they charge up to themselves as cost of raw material, making the cost of producing lumber ready for use tremendous. The buying public must pay this enormous stumpage price or go without lumber, for the small operator, who usually owns no timber of his own, must buy his raw material in the open market.

"There is no other industry in America today that men can regard with more justifiable scorn than that of the 'loyal' lords of the great, clean woods."—News Letter.

Only the great realize their littleness.

WARSHIPS BREED SUSPICION, SAYS BRITISH IRON WORKER

London, England.—“The building of battleships will never help our unemployed,” declares John Hill, general secretary of the United Society of Boilermakers and Iron Ship Builders.

“Every warship we build will increase international suspicion, reduce trade and cancel a score of merchant ships.

“Today the German fleet is at the bottom and they cannot build a fleet for the next forty years. America is our comrade of the great war. Japan is our special ally. Yet we are told by our government that we must keep our eye on them and start the same competition in armaments with them as we did with Germany—a competition which can only end in one way—war.

“This government is controlled by big business. Big business is not national by any means. It is international.

“The British shareholders will sing ‘God Save the King’ and hoist the Union Jack. The American shareholders will sing ‘Yankee Doodle’ and hoist the Stars and Stripes.

“Each will be the most bigoted patriot in his own country and curse the blasted foreigner.

“At the annual dividend meeting of their international company they will drink and laugh and smoke together as they divide profits out of the ammunition they sold to all nations to destroy each other.

“The world is in the hands of ‘hard-faced men,’ who tell us they must have unemployment, as it is the only way to break down not only wages, but to break down the spirit of the workers.

“We shall abolish unemployment more easily in peace than it was abolished in war, and to a much more useful purpose. We shall all

have work and rejoice in our work when we calmly and legitimately take our places as equals with all men in the ordering of our daily tasks.”

PRICES STILL ON THE RISE

Washington.—The high cost of living is not going to be put out of business by editorial writers and prophets of the “prevailing situation.” The high cost keeps climbing upward and pays no heed to the claims of those who advocate a low-wage standard. According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, United States Department of Labor, the retail cost of food from July 15 to August 15 in Rochester skyrocketed 8 per cent; in Buffalo 7 per cent; in Baltimore and New York 6; Milwaukee, Newark and Norfolk 5; Charleston, S. C., Louisville, Manchester, N. H., and Portland, Me., 4; Houston 3; Butte and Dallas 2 and in Minneapolis 1. These cities are fairly representative of the entire country, and the statistics given indicate that prices will advance rather than recede, the figures being for a season of the year when food prices are usually low.—News Letter.

PROFITEERS MAY ESCAPE PUNISHMENT

It is said that the plans of the administration to prosecute profiteers against the government who are known to have coined huge fortunes at the expense of the people, are in danger of collapse. That is because the statute of limitations will intervene in about three months. It is believed that it will be impossible to secure legislation to save the situation, although it is being sought by Attorney-General Daugherty.

November 11 will be the third anniversary of the signing of the armistice, and it is believed that most of the profiteering contracts

were made previous to the cessation of hostilities. The statute of limitations intervenes after three years.

So that prosecutions can be brought Attorney-General Daugherty desires to have the statute of limitations become operative six years, this to apply generally. Such a measure has been introduced and received a favorable committee report, but it did not pass previous to the recess and it is not likely that it can be passed previous to November 11.

Therefore, it is feared that the conscienceless war-time profiteers are to escape punishment. Congress is not likely to put aside all other matters of prime importance to pass this law, which is certain to meet with sufficient opposition to cause delays.—News Letter.

CHARLIE CHAPLIN, PHILOSOPHER

Charlie Chaplin, the movie comedian, reads books on sociology and economics when not capering before the camera. Before sailing last week from New York for a two-months' vacation in his old home town in England he made this statement to a New York Times reporter:

"I believe in the American Labor Movement. The workers can no longer be fooled by grand epigrams. The working class is becoming better educated all the time, and they are learning to face the facts and cope with them intelligently. The worker has become a reading and thinking man, and capital must realize that this thinking can only be met with thought, and not threats nor petty words. There must be an adjustment in this country before there can be any degree of contentment, and capital must realize that a little more of the profit of industry must go to the workers. Before conditions can be stabilized in this

country capital must make up its mind to play the game on the level."—Labor.

STATEMENT TO OUR GENERAL MEMBERSHIP

(Continued from page 5.)

over until the next meeting of the Council which is to be held in Washington November 14th. After some time I wrote a strong letter to Mr. Gompers, asking him to resubmit to the Council the matter of my resignation, stating that I thought it unfair to hold me in an office from which I desired to be released, expressing the hope that he would comply with my request. I also wrote each member of the Executive Council, asking when the matter was resubmitted to them, for the sake of the friendship that existed between us, to kindly vote to accept my resignation. At this time I am informed by President Gompers that in compliance with my request, he submitted the matter to a vote of the Council and the Council has refused to change its former action, that is, that my resignation be laid over for action until the next meeting of the Council. Under the laws of the Federation I must remain in office and hold the funds of the Federation and act as a member of the Council until my successor is duly appointed and qualifies for the office. I trust that the above statement will be satisfactory to the membership of our organization, because, whatever I am or whatever I will be in the future, is due not entirely to myself, but to the rank and file of our membership, who have unselfishly supported me since my election to the office of General President almost fifteen years ago.

The New York Central Railroad has again cut the wages of its employes. Wages are still 50 per cent. higher than four years ago, they declare.—New York Herald.

When central bodies or state branches refuse to unseat delegates whose local unions are not in affiliation with their International Union, they are deliberately and wilfully violating the laws of the American Federation of Labor, and especially when it has reached the point that the men representing those organizations are working deliberately against the policy of the International Union. There are some central bodies and state branches that it would be better for the American Labor Movement if they never existed. Some of them are controlled by petty politicians, who look only to their own personal and selfish interests. Of course, it would be unfair and unjust to say that this condition prevails to any great extent; however, it is true in some cases. It is also true that the greatest number of central bodies and state branches are fighting continually to strengthen and build up the Labor Movement in their territory—the work and mission for which they were instituted. Central bodies and state branches have no right to encourage, by holding in affiliation, local organizations that deliberately refuse to abide by the laws of their International Union and pay their per capita tax. At least they should not hold them in affiliation when notified by the International Union of conditions.

Organizer Cashal writes that in conjunction with Auditor Briggs he attended a meeting of the Milk Wagon Drivers' Union of New York. He said it was a splendid meeting, with over 2,000 in attendance. While this organization has had a hard struggle to maintain law and order, it has been successful, and I trust that the membership will understand the extent to which the International has supported them in their struggle. The International did everything possible to assist them. The General Auditor, for over nine months, has been devoting his time almost entirely to the affairs of this local union, and the results obtained are quite adequate and make us express ourselves as follows: "That it was not time or money wasted."

Whenever a man comes to you and whispers in your ear that such and such a fellow is wrong, it might be well before allowing yourself to believe his statement, to look up the history of the fellow who has whispered, as there is usually something wrong with the fellow who has not the courage to face the individual against whom he makes the statements and give the other fellow a chance to defend himself.

Official Magazine
of the
**International Brotherhood
of Teamsters, Chauffeurs
Stablemen and Helpers
of America**

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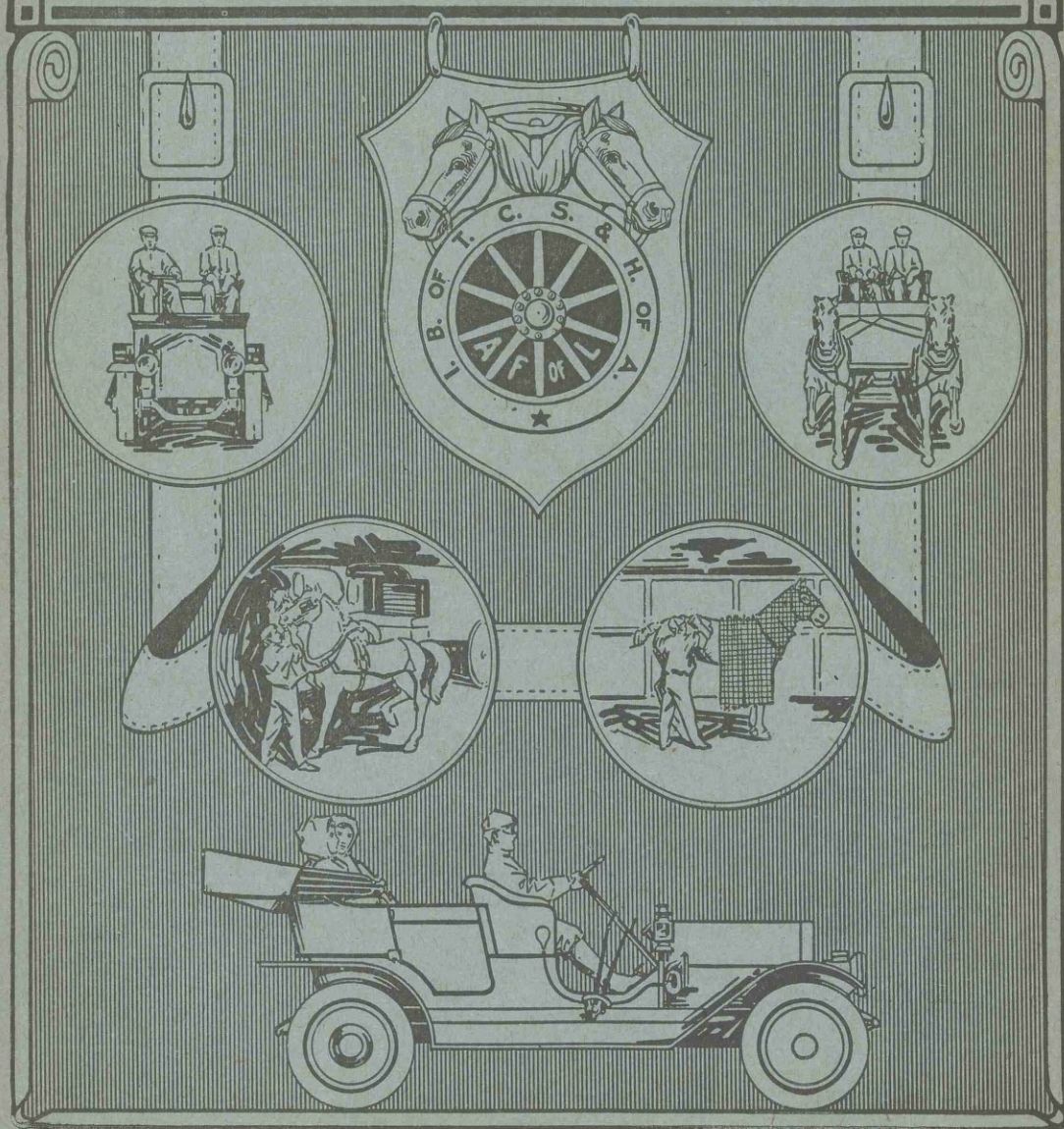
THOMAS L. HUGHES, Secretary

222 East Michigan Street

Indianapolis, Indiana

NOVEMBER, 1921

OFFICIAL MAGAZINE OF INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD TEAMSTERS • CHAUFFEURS STABLEMEN AND HELPERS OF AMERICA



There is nothing that irritates a man who is doing his best to help the union more than to have some fellow on the outside trying to create dissension, especially one who has no constructive program to offer.

It was all very well to be a good union man during the war, or in the days of prosperity, but it is entirely different when things are running down and look discouraging. The man who is doing everything he can for his union today, and who is on the fighting line for his union now, is the real kind of union man.

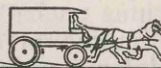
In all the years that our organization has been in existence we have never had more reason to rejoice at its strength and solidarity than we have at the present time. We are in a healthy condition, although, of course, we are fighting everywhere to maintain that strength we are so proud of. Our membership, generally speaking, is helping us to the utmost of their ability.

Certain West Virginia coal operators have brought suit against the United Mine Workers' Union, the case to be tried before Judge Anderson, to prevent the Mine Workers and fair operators in many parts of the country from entering into a union-shop agreement, such as the check-off system. If the injunction is granted in its entirety—and there is every indication that it will be—it will undoubtedly be the worst decision ever rendered against a labor union. It almost prevents the union from collecting dues.

It would be well for you to consider your duty as a union man, not only to yourself and your union, but to other unions, by purchasing union-made articles whenever possible. If you expect other unions to recognize your due-book and button, you in turn should look for the label when spending your money.

The watchword of every union man at this time should be "Stick!" Standing firmly against the onslaught of the open-shoppers, facing the storm like real red-blooded men, we will soon prove to those fanatics that the Organized Labor Movement of our country can not be trampled on or destroyed by the real enemies of freedom, the union haters, who, a few years ago, were creating religious bigotry and racial hatred, which the trade union has entirely destroyed.

— OFFICIAL MAGAZINE — INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF TEAMSTERS CHAUFFEURS STABLEMEN AND HELPERS.



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DISARMAMENT IS POSSIBLE IF THE PEOPLE DEMAND IT



IF THE public accept militarists and commercial expansionists as authority on armament, the nation is headed for a kaiserized democracy. If the public permit racial prejudice to grip them they must pay the cost in back-breaking taxes for military establishments.

If the public neglect domestic markets to aid commercial expansionists in foreign lands, the alleged gain will be more than neutralized by battleship costs and preparedness bonds.

Today our country votes dollars for war and pennies for construction and peace.

Out of every dollar appropriated by Congress in 1920, 93 6-10 cents was for war and its effects and 6 4-10 cents for peace.

This policy can be changed if the people refuse to longer accept the viewpoints of those who profit by war.

The conscience of the nation must be massed behind the armament conference that will convene in Washington, November 11.

On that date demonstrations under the auspices of organized labor will be held throughout the land, and President Gompers has cabled the suggestion to organized labor in England, France, Italy and

Japan that similar action be taken by them.

The immensity of these meetings, their determination and their inclusion of all citizens should stagger the militarist and stand-patter.

These militarists are not invincible. They are powerful because they continue unchallenged. They can be engulfed in a Niagara of public opinion for disarmament.

The people can sweep them aside as chaff and bend every public official to their will if they but express it. Most public officials would welcome this force.

Militarism thrives on the people's awe of an alleged power, on their indifference to duties, and on the false concept of those who imagine that shouts to the flag is patriotism of a high order.

The alleged power of privilege and greed is ludicrous before determined, intelligent citizens.

Labor's Armistice day demonstrations should be taken advantage of by every believer in harmony and concord between nations.

Those who block this ideal should be shoved aside.

Petty partisanship and the struggle of individuals for prestige and place are nothing.

The one question is: "Shall our country stop building war machines and devote our energies to construction and peace?"

Nothing else is important. Nothing else counts. The question reaches into every home, into every pocketbook, into every pay envelope in America.

Shun the man who ignores the great principle involved and discusses individuals, incidents or side issues.

Vitalize the A. F. of L.'s 40-year demand for peace.—Weekly News Service.

No people can prosper as a nation when the producers are paid less than living wages.

WORKERS ARE "BUNKED" BY HARVESTER TRUST

Chicago.—The harvester trust concedes that its employes "usually got considerable bunk and fell far short of getting a fifty-fifty square deal.

"In some plants the foreman of the various departments had in the past been encouraged in practicing trickery on the employes."

The above statement was made by Arthur H. Young, manager of the trust's industrial relations department, in his address before the convention of the American Drop Forge Association.

The speaker was explaining the trust's company "union" while acknowledging that the trust was guilty of trickery on its employes.

He further said that the company "union" has increased the piece work output but it "remains to be seen" whether wages can be reduced. He added that some manufacturers "expect to sit in the grand stand and do the cheering while the employes do all the work."

In commenting on this speech, Editor Martin of the Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers' Magazine, said:

"Here you have it. Mr. Young frankly admits the practice of trickery on the employes, also that in some plants foremen had in the past been encouraged in this deception. How, under Heaven, and in the name of common sense, are employes to believe the employer in the face of such frank admission? If they trick him once will they not trick him again and deceive him oftener? And this is a strictly piece work shop.

"The trickery surely must be more cunning, more fooling and more convincing in order to give the boss more than twice the piece work production and at a less cost.

"Mr. Young tells you, Mr. Piece

Worker, that the directors of the company expect to sit in the grand stand and do all the cheering, while the employes do all the work, and in the very next line or two informs the convention 'that it remains to be seen' what will happen when it becomes necessary to reduce the present scale of wages."—News Letter.

WHO NAMED THIS PLAN "AMERICAN"?—AMERICA STANDS FOR LIBERTY

Certain employers are pushing campaigns to forbid workers having a voice in fixing the conditions under which they shall work.

These employers assert that they alone have the right of naming the terms of work, the wages and the hours of labor of the persons whom they employ. Thus the workers, through the economic power of these employers, are forbidden from making use of the natural, the human right of free association with other workers for mutual, economic and social benefit.

These employers seek to hide their real design to break down American standards of living by naming their scheme to do it "the American plan."

In furthering the purpose of this autocratic and falsely-named plan these employers have caused workmen who refused to be bound to be locked out of shops and have enlisted the aid of the courts by swearing out writs of injunction against the workers forbidding them from doing acts which they have a lawful right to do.

This so-called "American plan" attacks the principles of American liberty by denying to workers the right of free association. Its plain purpose is to shatter wages and to increase the hours of labor and thus break up the homes of the workers, taking the children from

the schools and putting them to work in the factories.

This so-called "American plan" cuts deep when it assaults the home-life of the American worker, which is the guarantee of national security and the fount of social progress.

By whose authority do the organizers of this plan use the name American? Upon whose authority do they claim a place for it on American soil? America, in its very nature is opposed to everything for which this plan is sponsor—low wages and long hours—which mean child labor, ignorance, misery, poverty, squalor and hovel-homes. All the court injunctions on earth cannot make these black things white, cannot make them just, cannot make them American.

America has declared to all the world that the labor of a human being is not a commodity or article of commerce. This means that workers are human with rights of humans.

America stands for justice and equal rights to all mankind.

America above everything else, stands for human liberty.

The so-called "American plan," if put into use, would strangle justice, would destroy equal rights, would smother human liberty.—News Letter.

STEEL BOSSES HERD ALIENS FOR PROSPERITY DAYS

Washington. — Maintenance of an unemployment fiction after labor and industrial conditions in the United States improve is part of the program of employers in the steel industry, according to information filed with the department of labor.

Steel companies in the Pittsburgh district are housing Arabians and Orientals, and giving them credit in company stores. It

is intended that these aliens, engulfed in debt, can be used to advantage when prosperity returns.

When the wave of immigration from foreign countries was at high tide the steel companies did not have much trouble maintaining a long line of applicants for work outside their gates. These unemployed were used to throw the fear of unemployment into the employes and made it possible to maintain the lowest wages existing in any industry in the country.

The new immigration law is supposed to restrict immigration by allotting quotas to a few countries. These quotas are being exceeded and the steamship companies are ignoring them. So many exceptions are being made that the enforcement of the law is almost a farce.

Insufficient funds prevent the immigration bureau from deporting the aliens subject to deportation.

It is charged that there is a persistent campaign to reduce the appropriations for the immigration bureau in order to hamper the enforcement of the law restricting immigration.

Now comes the latest stunt of the employers in the steel industry. For a long time it was a mystery to the immigration officials how a group of aliens in the Pittsburgh district, all of whom were subject to deportation, were able to maintain themselves without working. Unemployment is a hardship to the normal population.

Investigation revealed the fact that the steel companies are maintaining these aliens by housing them in company houses and by giving them credit in the company stores. When industrial conditions improve these aliens are to be used as a permanent unemployment line.

Among them are Arabians and Orientals who could under no cir-

cumstances be included in the quotas, as they are disbarred from entry into the United States. They are in the United States at present because they were discharged from ships whose operations were discontinued by the industrial depression and the immigration bureau has not enough money to send them back.

It is said that the bureau needs \$500,000 to enforce the immigration law properly, but bureau officials are despairing of getting any such appropriation through congress. It is much easier, they say, for the navy to get an appropriation of \$40,000,000 for another capital ship.—News Letter.

LABOR TURNOVER COSTLY

It costs \$100 to "hire and fire" an office clerk, according to figures made public by the National Employment Board. It was also shown that employers lose \$60 by discharging a common laborer, ranging from a trucker to a machine hand. These figures were gathered in a survey, which included cost of time spent in interviewing, selecting, examining, training and watching the "new employe." It also included the losses the company must bear until he learns his duties.

The steel strike of 1919 from the strikers' point of view, as well as from the point of view of the impartial seeker of truth, was suppressed by the newspapers of Pittsburgh, the leading section of the big economic conflict; moreover the Pittsburgh newspapers not only misrepresented the developments of the strike, but sought by statement and innuendo to discourage the strikers and induce them to return to work, according to the latest report issued by the investigators of the Interchurch World Movement.—New York World, October 5.

EDITORIAL

(By Daniel J. Tobin)

THE unemployment conference just held in Washington, authorized by President Harding and directed by Secretary Hoover, has about finished its work, and, just as we expected, it has amounted to nothing in so far as tangible results are concerned. At the opening of the conference President Harding addressed that body and said something like this: "Ladies and Gentlemen—I do not wish to give you any instructions; I do not desire to in any way suggest anything for you to do, but I do want to impress this thought upon your minds: that not one dollar of the public funds can be used to offset unemployment at this time." Those were not his exact words, but, in substance, it is what he said. Then he went on to say that of course this unemployment condition is something that we have inherited—with the rest of the world—from the late war. Now, he first stated that he would give no instructions or make any suggestions and in the next breath he lays down a binding order that none of the nation's money must be used to help in this serious situation, and then, as all master-politicians in Washington are doing at the present time, blames everything on the war—the cloak behind which they are all hiding. But this continually blaming everything on the war is going to be worn out one of these days, as people are becoming sick of it. The war has now been over for nearly four years and most Americans are expecting that as a result of that splendid victory industrial conditions should by this time be properly adjusted. We had a Republican Congress for two years before this present Congress, but it did nothing. Mr. Harding, having absolute control over the Senate and Congress, is now in office nine months, but they haven't done one constructive thing in all that time. We, who are facing the masses of people and trying to explain, are perfectly justified in criticising the men who have charge of world affairs and are refusing to do anything to relieve the situation. I say to you honestly, that if it was any other kind of an administration—Democrat or Socialist—in power, and they did nothing, I would censure them just as severely as I do here. It is not a question of parties today with anyone. It is a question of the right men doing the right thing. Seemingly, we are going from bad to worse from a political standpoint.

Mr. Hoover then addressed the conference and one of the principal statements that he made was: "We must keep away from suggesting or recommending anything like a legislative policy." In other words, the conference should not recommend any legislation to relieve the unemployment condition. Both the President of the United States, who called the conference, and the Secretary, a member of his Cabinet, who had charge of the conference, laid down two binding rules on those attending the conference—first, that none of the public moneys could be appropriated to relieve the situation; second, that no legislation could be recommended or suggested by the conference to relieve the situation. What did the conference do? The main thing they did was to recommend that cities of over ten thousand population be requested at once to form committees and devise ways and means for opening up public employment, etc., such as building public buildings, roads, and so on, and thereby give relief to the unemployed. There should also be established

in each city, under the direction of the mayor, standing committees that would have bureaus in which they would keep track of the unemployed and try to find work for them in manufacturing establishments. Second, the conference recommended that all manufacturers split the work, establish shorter work-days and divide the work as much as possible amongst the masses, and so on. Now just imagine the conference recommending to cities of over ten thousand population that they appropriate money and open up work by building schoolhouses, public buildings, roads, etc. Of course, there are hundreds of thousands who cannot work at outside work. The President of the United States himself, in addressing the conference, stated that the conference should not ask Congress for any legislation towards the establishment of a large fund for public work; said that the national government should not be asked to spend any money, but they pass the "buck," as it were, to the cities. Nearly every city in the United States at the present time is bonded to its utmost capacity. The indebtedness of cities today is greater than ever before in the history of the country. Again, were cities to float other bonds they would have to collect the amount in taxes, thereby placing a heavier burden on business. Asking manufacturers to do this, that and the other thing, is perfectly ridiculous because the average manufacturer is going to do the very best he can, under very trying circumstances, without any orders from government conferences. The calling of the conference was another one of the methods used to take up the attention of the masses of workers, but we were very lucky that they did not declare that Labor was responsible for the unemployment because of its refusal to accept substantial reductions in wages. There were some statements made to this effect and given wide publicity; however, those statements did not become a part of the declarations of the conference. Well, the conference has come and gone and nothing has been done in so far as establishing material benefits or getting any real results. Such conferences have opportunities for doing a great deal of good if the proper spirit and action are behind them. In this case it is doubtful if such a spirit prompted the conference—that is, due consideration for relief for the masses of unemployed. If the conference had recommended that something be done toward settling the world affairs, that immediate action be taken by Congress and the Senate on the European situation, then we might get some results, because the attention of the nation would be called to such recommendations. But the conference was instructed that it could not resolve itself into anything like suggesting a legislative program, and was also told by the President that none of the public funds could be used in any way to solve the question of unemployment that was before the conference. Because of those instructions the conference was bound hand and foot and could do nothing except appeal to the sympathies of the employers of the country to do certain things and ask the cities of the country—that are now up to their necks in debt—to solve the unemployment situation by opening up public work, etc. The conference on unemployment has come and gone and did nothing—just as we expected; so we are not disappointed.

NOT so very long ago a conference between one of the most prominent motion picture producers in this country and certain labor men was held, at which conference the picture producer made an appeal that Labor interest itself in trying to protect the picture producers of this country against admitting, free of tax, into this country

films produced in other countries, saying that unless something was done undoubtedly the great picture producing business of this country would be driven to the wall by foreign producing concerns. I said to this picture producer, "What difference does it make to the rank and file of the working people whether or not the picture producing companies remain in business or not? Most of your people are unorganized and the wages that are paid in Los Angeles to the rank and file of the workers is not at all creditable and you do not deserve any consideration from that standpoint." "Anyway," I said, "this old tariff-protection stuff, in so far as the workers are concerned, although I was somewhat favorable to it in the past, after years of expectancy, years of hoping that some results would obtain, I have come to the conclusion that tariff protection only protects the big, rich manufacturers and the workers get very little results." I said, "I think you exaggerate when you make the statement that you would be driven out of business." He said, "Let me bring to your attention a certain picture which is now being shown throughout this country and which is entitled 'Deception,' which picture deals with the life of Henry VIII and has to do nearly entirely with the actions of that ruler in those days. This picture was produced in Germany and at one-half the cost it could be produced in this country." I said, "Well, perhaps if we admitted some films to this country free of duty it might have a tendency to bring down the extortionate prices now being charged by picture houses throughout the country. A few years ago, when those houses were started, they charged 5 cents and 10 cents admission, and today some of those houses have gone up to 40 cents and 50 cents, while a number of the large, first-class picture houses are charging \$1 and \$2. In other words, the cost of living in this respect has gone up 400 and 500 per cent., and this kind of amusement or luxury is one in which the masses of workers very generally participate. We never any more hear of a five-cent picture house. What is the result? Millions have been made by the big producers and the picture show houses, and the movie stars have been rolling in wealth. Chariots of gold are owned and operated by many of them, with the result that the millions they have acquired in the few years they have been in the movies has become a menace and a disgrace to American life, because seemingly they do not have the brains necessary to invest their earnings, and they only seem to be enjoying their millions from the standpoint of living lives of licentiousness and debauchery, as is evidenced in the Arbuckle case and also in the case of the movie stars that were responsible for the removal of District Attorney Tufts of Middlesex county, Massachusetts, where, after a night of debauchery, through the conniving of criminal lawyers, they were 'shook down' for \$100,000 to prevent prosecution and exposure." I said to this gentleman, and he is one of the fair men toward organized labor in the picture producing business, "Why should the so-called star that a few years ago was driving a taxicab or filing unpaid bills in an office, be drawing a royalty of one million dollars a year on a certain picture, thereby increasing the expense of showing that picture and making the piper pay, for in the end the piper in this case is the working man and his family?" I said, "This question of tariff and protection, it seems to me, is not doing the masses of the people any great amount of good. I want to do everything to protect the honest manufacturers of our country, but why should I say that European countries should not be allowed to ship woolen cloth into this country because it might interfere with the American Woolen Com-

pany's mills? This same American Woolen Company runs the biggest scab institution in the country, with wages much lower than the average wage paid to laboring men, with about 70 per cent. of their employes non-English-speaking people. Why should I favor excluding woolen goods manufactured in Europe so that I might protect this kind of an institution—the American Woolen Company—so that prices cannot be brought down? Perhaps, after all, if English and German woolen concerns were allowed to ship in their manufactured woolen materials to this country we might be able to buy real woolen clothing much cheaper than we are able to do at present. What good after all does it do us to have the American Woolen Mills thoroughly protected? The same things might be said of the picture producing companies. Perhaps if free, untaxed films were allowed to come into this country from European countries we might get back again to the five-cent and ten-cent show houses, and as the workers must have a certain amount of relaxation and enjoyment, and the picture show has been one of the principal means of relaxation for the workers, we will have to do something to disestablish the grand opera prices now obtaining in the picture show houses of our country." I said, "Much as I sympathize with you as a man and as a fair employer, you are only one of the many, and the great number of capitalists and individuals engaged in your business are not doing much to help organized labor, and I, for one, will not vote to do anything towards establishing high protection taxes on foreign manufactured films so that the movie stars and picture show houses may continue to make the millions they are now making." He answered, "The picture show houses are not making as much money as you think; in a number of houses during the last year the receipts dropped off over 30 per cent. of what they were the previous year." I answered, saying, "Is that all they dropped off—30 per cent.? They could well afford to drop off 50 per cent. and still make money. You know," I said to him, "a great many of the most reliable business houses of our country are up against the wall financially; houses that have been doing business for years, and business men who never before had cause for worry are just working from day to day expecting that some slight improvement will obtain to help them to continue operating and save them from destruction. Why should not the picture house experience a depression in business when there are five million people out of work who were working a year ago? On a conservative estimate each of those workers has dependent upon him at least two other individuals, which would make a total of fifteen millions of persons suffering from unemployment, and it is safe to say that those fifteen millions visit a picture show once or twice a week, and if there were two admissions out of three in a family each week, that would be thirty million admissions per week, and every month it would be one hundred twenty million admissions, and I suppose you know, Mr. Producer, that one hundred twenty million admissions is only a fair estimate of what the condition is; and is not this somewhat the cause of the depression in the business of the movie houses of the country?" The moral of this statement is: When the workers are not working, business in general is staggering. When the masses of people are unemployed, no one is doing business—the butcher, the grocer, the shoe dealer—every one feels the pinch when the laborer is not receiving his hire." So this condition that now confronts us throughout the country is of such a serious nature that it behooves every business man—no matter how large or small—to get after the Government officials and en-

deavor to insist that they bring about some kind of a settlement in world politics to the end that unemployment may be eliminated as quickly as possible. Tariff walls will not help us at this time. We must give renewed vigor to industry. We must stimulate business as much as possible not only in our country, but in the other countries of the world. The countries in Europe that owe us so much money cannot pay unless they find a market for their manufactured products. I think, after all, the solution to this high cost of living would be competition in trade. Therefore, whatever little influence I might, with other labor men, have on the present administration, I would refuse to give that little towards establishing tariff walls to exclude from this country foreign manufactured films. The above case is only one of the many that are at the present time up in Washington. Every capitalist and manufacturer of the country has some one there pleading for tariff and protection and visiting Congress and the Senate, so that their special industry may be protected. Protection means more money for the manufacturer, and that means that high prices will obtain, and they are trying to use the old-fashioned argument that American labor must be protected. The American manufacturer of this country is a human individual; selfish to the extreme, and has no more regard for the protection of American labor than he has for the fleeting clouds, except to use the argument to bolster up his case to the end that his special industry may be protected. Labor organizations, or labor men and women, should not be deceived any longer by that argument. The American Chamber of Commerce, representing the manufacturers of this country, has proven, by its campaign against the organized workers of the country for the past year, its special interest in labor. Its attempt to destroy labor unions is for the sole purpose of destroying wages and working conditions. Its greatest ambition is to bring down American labor to the same condition as European labor, but it knows that before it can do anything like that it must first destroy the unions, because unions have made wages and conditions not only for the organized but for the unorganized masses of the country. There are manufacturers in this country who would be glad to throw open the doors to coolie labor. Their Americanism is only measured by the dollars they can control. So again we repeat, do not be deceived by their argument that we must have extreme tariff laws protecting industries in order to hold up the wages of American workmen.

IT IS with deepest regret that we have learned of the death of one of the oldest and best members of our International Union, Brother Alex. Maguire, of Philadelphia. Brother Maguire became a member of our union when the old Team Drivers' International Union was first organized in Philadelphia in 1902, and had continued active and in good standing ever since. He was for many years business agent of the Cab Drivers' Union. He worked as organizer under former General President Shea. When the horse-drawn vehicle was replaced by the motor or taxicab he became business agent of that union and has gone through the hardest fight of any local union in this country. Last year in the strike of that union, which he personally conducted, a strike which he tried to avert, but which he could not avoid, he offered to arbitrate the matter, but the bosses forced the strike, and Alex. went through that fight and suffered more than any one will ever know. After months, in which not one striker deserted, and although the International was

financing the strike, he was compelled to call it off. The employers lost everything, but they would not submit. Alex. saved his union and recently, in speaking with him in Atlantic City, he was very hopeful for the future. He was a real man, possessing a lovable nature, a splendid character, one who was loyal to his friends, a union man of the right type, who believed in obeying the laws in every respect. It was a pleasure to get his letters; they explained everything so thoroughly. An intelligent man, who did his business in a businesslike manner and always held up the dignity of his union. It is putting it mildly to say that his is at this disturbed time a great loss to his union and to the International. We certainly could not afford to lose him now, when we so much need men of his special type, with brains and the courage to go through for the right. But there is a greater power, the Unseen Hand, which does everything for the best, and which has called Brother Maguire away from us and from his dear friends and associates; a Judge from whom there is no appeal, and One before whom we shall all appear, one by one. So we must reconcile ourselves to our loss in the passing away of Brother Maguire, and we extend to his dear ones our heartfelt sympathy in the loss they have sustained, and to our fellow member and co-worker we say: "Farewell, thou good and faithful servant; we shall meet, but we shall miss you."

LATEST reports tell us that the cost of living is coming down. We hear this every week, but we deny this statement. It is true there was a slight reduction in living costs a few months ago, but certain commodities seem to be going back to the prices which they commanded during the war. The only way to bring down the cost of living is for you to practice the advice I gave you a few months ago—hold your dollars. Do not spend your money and you will pretty quickly make the people, the retailers, who are making the largest percentage of profits, sell some of the hoarded stores they have on their shelves at a lower price. The chambers of commerce throughout the country are going to recommend that there be a general week of everybody buying something so that the retailers may be helped; they, in turn, would help the wholesalers, thereby giving work to the mill hands. Do not let this kind of pure and unadulterated nonsense have any effect on you. The strike of the buyers eight or nine months ago was the cause of a material reduction in prices, and I say to you, keep up this strike and save every dollar that you possibly can. Do not spend a cent that you do not have to and you will not only be better off financially, but you will help bring down prices. Prices on shoes have not come down as much as they ought to. You will find that by next May there will be a substantial reduction in prices, and I advise you to spend during the winter months just as little as you possibly can. It is true there are thousands of us that have very little to spend anyway, but even those will find it possible to save 50 cents or a dollar each week, or each month, if they will make an effort to do so. The worst profiteers in the country at the present time are the retailers, those fellows who live in your neighborhood and have stores, and who stand in the door of their stores and greet you heartily and encourage you to come in and buy something, and they are obtaining, at the present time, war profits. Not many years ago a reasonable price for a pair of shoes for a working man was \$3.00 or \$4.00, and the retailer in those days was perfectly satisfied if he made 50 cents profit on each pair of shoes. Today this same brand of shoes, with inferior

leather, costs from \$8.00 to \$10.00 a pair, and I am safe in saying that on each pair of shoes at this price there is \$3.00 and \$4.00 profit for the retailer. I could go on enumerating other articles if space would permit. As stated above the only solution of this question is to refuse to buy as long as you possibly can, not only shoes and clothing, but everything else that you can possibly get along without, even at a sacrifice to your pleasure and comfort, and you will soon force prices down. Among other articles on which enormous profits are obtained is household furniture. Profits on furniture are sometimes over 200 per cent., and it is all of that if bought on the installment plan, as many of our poorer members have to do. You can surely get along with the furniture you have had for several years past. At least make an effort to do so and do not buy any until it gets away from the high mark at which they are now holding it. Do not be deceived by the advertisements in the paper on Monday morning. This is one of the greatest curses to the working people—the advertisements in the Sunday and Monday morning papers, in which it appears that prices have been slashed down to almost nothing. It is very easy for them to say that a lady's dress which was \$75.00 has been marked down to \$38.00, or a man's suit selling for \$65.00 has been marked down to \$44.00, or that a piece of furniture has been marked down from \$35.00 to \$17.50. This is the game employed, but the truth of the matter is that most of the prices to which they have been marked down are the original prices of the articles. Of course, once in a great while, shop-worn stuff or some old stuff may be marked down somewhat, but 99 per cent. of the articles sold are sold at a substantial profit for the house. The highest paid men in department stores are the fellows who have charge of the advertising. The man or woman who can write up a spicy advertisement that will attract the public commands a big salary. In other words, they pay big salaries for trying to fool the public. As I said before, do not spend one dollar unless you are absolutely compelled to do so. In this way you will bring down prices. The chances are that if this article is read by some of the so-called public-spirited citizens they will say that I belong to the class that is refusing to help bring about prosperity. But in answer to such individuals I want to say I am advising our membership as I see things, and I am trying to help overcome the storm that surrounds us, when there is a general attempt being made to reduce wages everywhere and to destroy the union that has done so much for us.

DISCLOSURES recently made in and around New York show that several men holding membership in labor unions and sometimes the officers of labor unions goaded men on to strike and then after the strike had been started attempted to destroy it. This same thing has been proven in the West Virginia coal mine strike. Of course this is old stuff and has been used before for many years. I have told you in the columns of this journal that there are a number of detectives holding membership in unions. The stuff is so old that I hesitate to give the story space in our journal at this time, but, let me say this to you, that as long as you run your union in accordance with our laws and are governed by the advice of your General Executive Board; as long as you obey the laws of the land, you do not need to care anything about the pimps, or detectives, or spotters holding membership in your union. At the present time I am satisfied that there are quite a few detectives in our organization who are making soft money by issuing

false reports, but do not let that disturb your mind. The employers of the country are getting wise to some of those thieving detective agencies and pretty soon we will have the employers joining hands with us in trying to kill off those institutions of graft and thievery. Every time I go to a meeting in Chicago or New York I am careful of what I say, and I really sometimes say things I do not mean, so that the detectives in attendance will carry back to the fool employers who hire them the statements I make.

WHY should we waste our time and energy in trying to accomplish the impossible? It is, of course, splendid to have aspirations and ambitions. Ambition is the guiding star to success for all individuals, and the man or woman without it can not ever expect to get anywhere. However, reason and common sense should be exercised in endeavoring to reach a desired goal. No man has a right to climb over his friend or to do him an injustice so that he himself may get somewhere. The man who expects to be happy after reaching a position at the expense of betraying his life-long friend, may rest assured that he will not succeed. In order to enjoy the fruit of any success, that success must be obtained by square-dealing. The officers in the Labor Movement are known as men of the highest honor; men who have sacrificed everything for their fellows. There are very few instances of where men who were true trade unionists have ever wilfully injured one of their fellow members. We find in business that there is no such scrupulous honor observed. The game is, destroy your competitors, destroy your friends, so that you may get there yourself. How many men in business have obtained success at the expense of sacrificing even their closest friends? There is no success when your honor and truthfulness are sacrificed to obtain that success. It is a cruel injustice to an officer of a labor union to have men attack him when he has no opportunity of defending himself; to have brothers or members lie about him when he is not present. They not only destroy the best principles of manhood, but they are doing a serious injustice to the organization, because there is always someone listening who does not thoroughly understand the union and who carries the tale with him wherever he goes. Remember, because you are a union man, you are expected to be a better man, and union men always are better men. There is no organization of any kind in the world that proves this statement more clearly than does the organization to which we belong. Look today at the conditions of men engaged at our work and those of you who were in the business twenty-five years ago, compare the conditions of those days with the conditions that are obtaining today. We are not only better men because we have obtained decent conditions, but we have, through our union, been instrumental in bettering our families and helping them to be the men and women of America tomorrow and the day after. Therefore, I repeat, because we are union men we are better men, and that means that we must be careful of every act and must give serious consideration to every statement that we make and be sure that we speak the truth in all of our statements. If some man has made a statement against you or some member of your union has done you an injustice by making some statement that is not true, you meet him face to face, or at the meeting of your union, but do not run around the streets, or stand at the wharf or freight house and make general statements of untruths where everyone can hear, as you will

do more injury to the union in general, and to yourself, than you will do to the individual who sometimes unjustly attacks you. One of the weaknesses with which human nature is cursed is the sin of jealousy. I do not mean the jealousy between sexes, but the jealousy of one individual against the other individual who has been more successful than he has—jealous because he was successful in holding the confidence and respect, perhaps, of his membership or the public, because of his fair dealing. The man with a jealous nature is handicapped and suffers, because after all that kind of a nature may be responsible for his standing still or being tied to a post while his fellow workman goes ahead. Experience in the Labor Movement has convinced me that it is one of the worst handicaps that a man or woman can have, to be jealous of the success of their fellows. It is more honorable to be proud of the success of those who work with you than to grudge them the victories they have honestly won. We find this condition more thoroughly demonstrated in local unions than we do in national affairs. As stated above, the punishment of a jealous mind is of such a nature that it will eventually destroy the individual unless he makes an effort to eliminate from himself that condition, and by striving against it it can be overcome. So decide that from this day on, instead of being jealous of the success of one of your friends that you will speak a word of praise for what he has done for himself and for what he is trying to do for his organization. No matter what your differences have been with him in the past, weed this serpent from your mind and you will be a much better man than you were before, living a happier life and thereby feeling that you are in reality the right kind of a union man.

THIS is the time that it is well to have a few dollars in the local treasury. You can not tell the day or the hour that the membership may be thrown out of employment by an unfair employer, and it is well to have some money in the bank on which you can draw if it becomes necessary. Some few employers are not only trying to destroy unions through the open-shop methods; they are attempting to seriously cripple us through adverse legislation, and if those methods fail, to put us out of business altogether by adverse decisions against us in the courts of the country. Wouldn't it be quite a surprise to some of those labor haters if the labor movement emerged triumphantly from all of this opposition?

ANY UNION that refuses to hold a regular meeting of its organization once a month, or more often if possible, in the future, will subject itself to discipline from the International office. Complaints from the New York district are coming into the International office that local unions are not holding any meetings, and we are bound to listen to those complaints whether we like it or not. We desire to express this thought: that organizations can not continue to be successful unless they hold regular meetings. All elections should be held under the Australian ballot, where there is any opposition to the candidates. Nominations should be held in open meeting and notice should be sent to the membership that nomination of officers will be held on a certain date. The chairman of the meeting should not entertain a motion to close nominations until all who desire to nominate a candidate have had an opportunity for doing so. If there is no opposition

to any of the officers, a motion is then in order that the secretary stand instructed by the meeting to cast a ballot containing the unanimous vote of the organization in favor of the candidate. If there are two or three candidates running for any one office, then the election should take place by ballot, and it should be a secret ballot. Unless you are elected to office on a fair and square election, you can not expect to have the confidence of your membership during the term of your office. The Labor Movement stands for fair dealing in every one of its actions, and we should never allow the impression to prevail that anything we do savors of crookedness. No man should be afraid to face his membership on an honest election. No man deserves the confidence or respect of his membership unless he is elected by a majority of the membership through an honest and fair election.

THE United Mine Workers went on record as favoring nationalization of mines. Well, the nationalization of mines might be a good thing for the miners and the people. There is surely something wrong somewhere in the coal business—whether it is between the mine operators and the railroads, or with the coal jobbers and retailers, there is something seriously wrong. Our organization will render whatever assistance we can towards helping the miners to obtain nationalization of mines, but we might make this statement: that we will all have long since passed away before this country will ever see the nationalization of mines. There is an old saying which states that “a work begun is half done.” The time may come, forty or fifty years from now, when we may see nationalization of mines, but I hope that nationalization of the teaming industry is further than that away from our membership. I do not want the government to own the teaming industry of the nation, because when the government owns any employment, it very quickly finds a way to prevent you from either going on strike or having an organization.

THE General President will not answer letters received from individuals who claim they are members of our local unions. It is impossible for the General President to know whether or not the individual writing is a member in good standing. All communications sent to the General Office must bear the seal of the local union. We have almost one hundred thousand members and it would be absolutely impossible for your General President, or any other general officer, to answer communications from individual members. The only way we can tell whether or not the individual is a member of our union is for his communication to bear the seal of the local union of which he is a member. When members who are receiving the Journal change their address, they themselves should not write the General President asking that the change be made in their individual case, as all changes in addresses or requests for the Journal must come through the Secretary-Treasurer of the local union. How are we to know that a man living a thousand miles away from Headquarters is a member in good standing in his local? Therefore, individual requests for the Journal or communications from individuals will not be recognized in the future.

There seems to be an awful lot of worry in Washington about the surtax on incomes of \$200,000 or more. The members of the finance

committee have discussed this item more than they have anything else during the last three months. Is it not awful for these poor people who have incomes of \$200,000 or \$2,000,000 a year to have to have their income taxes raised a little more? How those poor fellows are worrying because they are afraid their income taxes will not be reduced. It is almost a joke to see those poor senators in fear and trembling that they will not be able to help the millionaires of the country to reduce their income taxes. Not much thought is given to the married man whose salary is \$2,000 a year or to the single man, with perhaps a father or mother dependent upon him, who is earning a little over a thousand dollars a year. This is a sample of our wonderful legislators—the men who make the laws for the millions of toilers of our country.

The affairs of the local union should be conducted by the membership of that local union. Members of other local unions should not be allowed to interfere. The officers of other local unions should not interfere unless asked to do so by the International Office.

Armistice day should be celebrated by everyone, but especially the working people, because they were the greatest sufferers during the war and they are still suffering. So get out your little flag and wave it proudly and offer up a prayer that the toilers in the future may be saved from a repetition of that awful slaughter.

Many organizations, through lack of funds because of strikes and lockouts, have been compelled to lay off many of their organizers. This, of course, is not to be construed as a weakness on the part of those organizations, and is only a part of the fight that Labor has to make just now. Industry has been compelled to lay off many of its salaried employes during dull periods and a labor organization is a purely business institution and that institution is not run from a sentimental standpoint. If it was, it would have failed. But the dark days that now prevail will be turned into brightness before many months and Labor will emerge triumphantly from this struggle just as surely as the sun rises and sets.

The company union has established itself in the packing-house industry in Chicago, but we are glad to say that none of our membership in Local No. 710 are breaking their necks to become members. One would think at this late date, and after the exposures that have been made of company unions, that men would wake up and realize the fact that corporations do not start anything except it is for their own benefit. We had such an experience with the express companies several years ago; the men believed in the officers of the company in those days, joined the company's union, and a short time afterwards they were worse than slaves. Do not let your mind become clouded by appeals from the company that it is looking out for your interests. Better not join any union at all than a company union.

CORRESPONDENCE



CHICAGO, ILL.

Mr. D. J. Tobin, Indianapolis, Ind.:

The open-shop plan advocates commenced and have kept up a steady drive against our organization. The very serious period of unemployment has been helpful to them in their greedy purpose. They can not destroy us, but they can injure us, and we appeal to the labor press to say in their valuable and helpful papers, that if organized labor will support us by buying union-made cigars, it will be wonderfully helpful to us in shortening the duration of the miserable attempt on the part of greedy, profiteering manufacturers to cripple and destroy our organization, and will be appreciated, and reciprocated when opportunity offers, by the undersigned.

G. W. PERKINS, President,
Cigar Makers' International
Union.

CHAMPAIGN, ILL.

Mr. D. J. Tobin, Indianapolis, Ind.:

Dear Sir and Brother—I am writing you a few lines for the Magazine if you have space for same. Local No. 443 is feeling fine over the fact that we can see a chance for a great deal more work for the winter than we had this summer. Our daily paper says that there is going to be quite a great building era, which will help the unemployment situation. Local No. 443 is fighting hard to hold our present wage scale and we are putting on a campaign to get every teamster and chauffeur into our local so when spring comes we will be in better shape to get our wage scale signed. We read in the Maga-

zine your reason for resigning from the American Federation of Labor, and the central body in this district is for you one hundred per cent.

Our membership wish you every success.

Fraternally yours,
M. D. CAMPBELL,
Secretary-Treasurer Local
No. 443.

TRUE INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY

Organized labor adopted in its Denver convention a declaration described by the Committee on Executive Council's Report as pointing the way to true industrial democracy. The declaration contained in the report of the executive council follows: "We urge the setting up of conference boards of organized workers and employers, thoroughly voluntary in character and in thorough accord with our trade union organizations, as a means of promoting the democracy of industry through development of co-operative effort. We point out to employers the fact that industry, which is the life blood of our civilization, can not be made the plaything and the pawn of a few who by chance today hold control. Industry is the thing by which all must live and it must be given the opportunity to function at its best."

"This, we believe, points the way to proper democratization of industry," said the committee report. "Democracy in industry can only be founded on right relations between employes and managers." The declaration was adopted by unanimous vote.—Granite Cutter.

The Mine Workers have just adjourned their convention, which was held in Indianapolis and lasted nearly three weeks. It was the largest convention in its history and one of the stormiest. On many occasions it was almost impossible for the officers to control the convention. One of the principal actions of the convention was that of sending delegates to the World Mining Congress to be held in London next year. Alex. Howat, who is now in jail in Kansas, received the largest vote of the convention and was chosen delegate.

Whatever any one may say of Alex. Howat, no one can say that he is a coward. He is fighting the Kansas Industrial law, and he is surely making a fool of Governor Allen. He is not only fighting the miners' fight in that State, but is making a fight for the entire trade union movement, because if the Kansas law was allowed to work successfully, or without opposition, undoubtedly other states would adopt a similar law. This law is vicious. It goes so far as to prevent men voting to go on strike, or stop working, without first referring the entire matter to the state industrial court.

One of the best-known labor men, and perhaps the most popular, one who made the greatest fight that anyone ever made for his organization, Brother Andrew McAndrews, General President of the Tobacco Workers' Union, was buried in Cincinnati last week. I attended the funeral. Because he was so well known by our membership and worked so hard in his life's struggle for the labor movement, I felt it my duty to attend. Faithful to the end, he is now at rest.

Express employees having grievances must take up those grievances in regular form, first with the local officers of the company, and then go step by step until they reach the higher court, which would be one of the head officials of the company. Petty grievances must be settled locally without referring them either to the International or the heads of the company for adjustment. The best thing to do in these unsettled days is to use good judgment in handling grievances of every nature. Patience is always helpful, but even that virtue must not be abused. We are entitled to just what the agreement calls for. Any misunderstanding existing as to its interpretation ought to be straightened out, and not surrendered by either the company or the men employed by the company.

Official Magazine
of the
**International Brotherhood
of Teamsters, Chauffeurs
Stablemen and Helpers
of America**

WEAR THE EMBLEM
of
OUR ORGANIZATION
ADVERTISE THE BUTTON AND EMBLEM



THE ABOVE CUTS REPRESENT THE

Button, Cuff Button and Watch Fob

SOLD BY THE GENERAL OFFICE

THE PRICES ARE AS FOLLOWS:

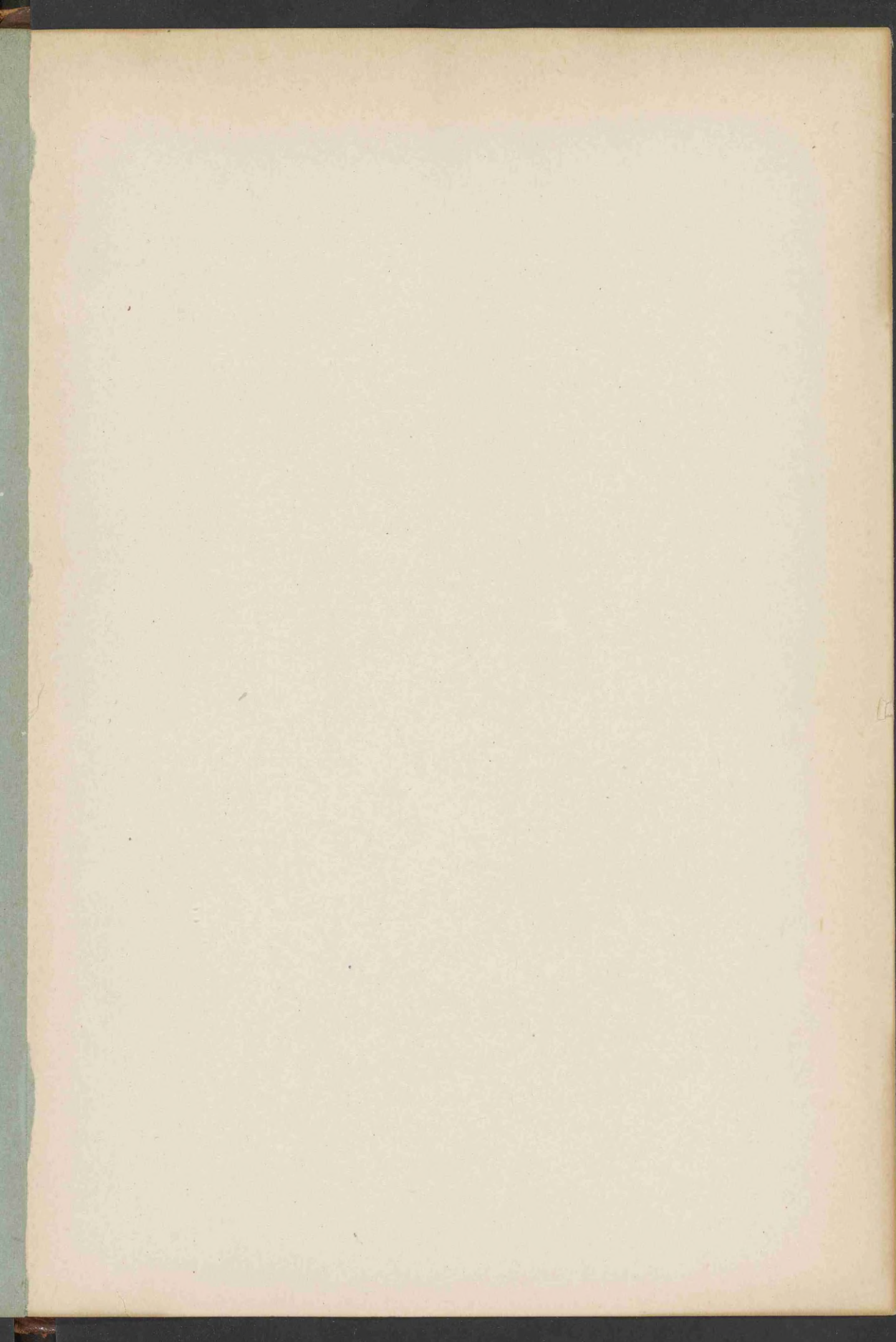
Buttons	\$.25 a piece
Cuff Buttons75 a pair
Watch Charms	1.50 a piece

All orders should be sent through the Secretary of the Local Union to

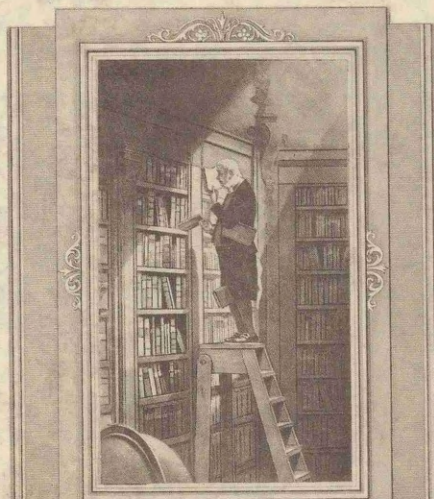
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